

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

ENERGY CRISIS

Behind Carter's lies: oil profiteers on rampage

By Dick Roberts

In his national energy policy speech April 5, President Carter sharply escalated the employers' offensive against the American working class, once again under the guise of the "energy crisis."

AUSTERITY: First, in announcing he will lift controls on domestic crude oil prices, Carter moved to give the energy trust free reign in raising U.S. gas and oil prices.

The White House itself admits decontrol will add \$16 billion to oil company revenues by the end of 1981. By one estimate the average American family will pay an extra \$326 a year starting in June for petroleum products alone—not counting the chain reaction of higher prices for other products.

"Each of us will have to use less oil and pay more for it," Carter declared.

This demand for sacrifice is the essence of the profit drive of the American ruling class. The energy program is designed to soften up workers, drive down our expectations, and prepare us to accept lower living standards, fewer jobs, more inflation, and less economic security.

NUCLEAR DANGER: Second, despite the near catastrophe at Three Mile Island, Carter made it clear that nuclear power will continue. In a news conference April 10, he again insisted that "there is no way for us to abandon the nuclear supply of energy in our country in the foreseeable future."

The green light for nuclear power is a grim reminder that for the government and the employers, all considera-

tions of health, safety, and the environment must take a back seat to the profit drive.

WAR THREAT: Third, Carter's speech also contained heightened threats of U.S. military intervention in the Middle East.

"Our national strength," he said, "is dangerously dependent on a thin line of oil tankers stretching halfway around the earth, originating in the Middle East and around the Persian Gulf—one of the most unstable regions in the world."

Since the Iranian revolution the White House has stepped up its bellicose rhetoric. During the Begin-Sadat talks, it laid out plans for massive new arms shipments and possible construction of U.S. military bases in the Sinai. Carter also rushed "advisers" and weapons to North Yemen and declared Washington's readiness to go to war over its interests in the Arabian peninsula.

The U.S. rulers view a scare campaign around alleged energy shortages and foreign control of oil as the best way to prepare the American public to

accept further war moves in the Middle East.

Wall Street's opinion of Carter's moves has been clear enough. Since last fall, the prices of oil stocks have been rising sharply.

Carter's energy offensive rests on the claim that we are in imminent danger of running out of oil. This claim in turn rests on information that is kept secret from the American people.

From the distribution of oil in world markets to the production of nuclear power in the United States, the crucial

Continued on page 3

Thousands protest nuclear danger



Two thousand residents of Harrisburg area demonstrated at state capitol April 8. See pages 4- 5, 14-15.

INS orders Marroquin to leave U.S. in 30 days

By Larry Seigle

APRIL 11—Immigration Judge James Smith has ruled that Héctor Marroquín is not entitled to political asylum.

In a decision released late today, Smith declared that "the fact that an alien would not enjoy in his own country the same type, degree, and extent of political freedom and the freedom of the press that he would enjoy here does not entitle him" to political asylum.

Smith gave Marroquín thirty days in which to leave the country "voluntarily" or be deported back to Mexico.

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, said she will file an immediate appeal. (For coverage of the April 3-5 deportation hearing, see pages 16-20.)

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has issued an urgent appeal to all of its supporters to step up their activities in order to block the Immigration and Naturalization Service from expelling Marroquín from the country.

"We are asking all individuals and organizations who support this fight to let INS Director Leonel Castillo hear a thunderous outcry of protest,"

said Jane Roland, coordinator of the defense committee.

She added that the committee, which is already deeply in debt, is desperately in need of funds to cover the costs of the appeal.

In a cynical effort to turn the broad support Marroquín has received into a reason for denying asylum, Judge Smith, in his decision, argued that Marroquín's "political speaking tours and activities here have endeared him to numerous persons and organizations who will undoubtedly remind the Mexican authorities that such a celebrity should not disappear."

He went on to attack the Socialist Workers Party, of which Marroquín is a member, claiming the party has defended Marroquín solely "because it wanted a cause to promote."

He argued further that Marroquín is not in this country legally, and therefore not entitled to protection under the law of asylum. Further details on the decision will be reported next week.

Donations, resolutions of support, and copies of protest messages should be sent to: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Energy Crisis: Labor needs a voice

The energy crisis.

To the oil corporations and the utilities, it means record profits.

To working people, it means skyrocketing fuel bills, nuclear contamination, and the threat of a war in the oil-rich Middle East.

That this is the real substance of the crisis is becoming more and more apparent to American working people.

And with this awareness comes a deepening distrust of the proclamations and predictions flowing out of Washington.

In a *New York Times*/CBS News poll late last month at the time of the Mideast "peace treaty," only 20 percent of those questioned believed "the oil shortage we hear about is real."

And only 27 percent thought a long-term peace between Egypt and Israel was likely.

A *Times*/CBS survey following the March 28 Three Mile Island nuclear disaster found only 20 percent who felt "public officials have been honest in telling the public all they know about the danger from the accident."

Asked if they would approve or disapprove of building a nuclear power plant in their communities, 56 percent voiced disapproval, although Carter says there is "no way for us to abandon the nuclear supply of energy."

In the same poll, 56 percent didn't believe that higher fuel prices will lead the oil companies to discover more oil, as double-dealing Carter claims "the nation has a right to expect."

Contrary to Carter's promise that decontrol of oil prices will be carried out in an "effective, fair, and equitable" way, a whopping 78 percent of those surveyed said the oil companies



will "just make more money."

American working people don't think they should have to "use less" and "pay more" as Carter admonished April 5.

They don't think they should have to subject their families, homes, and farms to unknown quantities of radiation when they don't even believe there's an energy shortage.

And they don't want any new wars in the Mideast for the profit of the oil trust.

All of these majority sentiments contrast sharply with the policies and actions of those who claim to represent us in government.

The Democratic and Republican parties stand with the energy industry. And as any gasoline buyer can tell you, as any victim of Three Mile Island can testify, if you stand with the energy profiteers, you stand against working people.

But the energy crisis is very real for working people. It threatens us with a real catastrophe. And because of that, we need *real* representatives in government.

We need a political voice to counter the lies of big business.

We urgently need a labor party based on the unions, a party responsible to the workers instead of to big business.

A labor party could voice workers' opposition to Carter's war moves in the Middle East.

It could begin to unravel the energy crisis, which is now shrouded in secrecy.

It could fight to open the books of the oil corporations and the utilities to find out just

what energy reserves there are and what the real cost of providing energy is.

It could fight to close down every nuclear plant in the country to prevent any more Three Mile Islands and to put an end to the low-level radiation that is poisoning the environment with effects not yet fully known.

It could fight to make the government provide full compensation for those victimized by the Three Mile Island accident, including medical care, moving expenses, lost earnings, and property value losses.

And it could fight to take the profit-making out of energy and put the industry in the hands of working people so that it is used rationally and honestly for human needs.

Israeli raid in Lebanon

Less than two weeks after signing of the misnamed Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty, Israeli jets were once again in action over Lebanon, pounding Palestinian refugee camps with high explosives. The April 10 attack was not an isolated indication of what the future has in store.

Billions of dollars worth of new U.S. arms are being poured into the Middle East; U.S. advisers have been sent to North Yemen; and a U.S.-Israeli agreement has been concluded which—as *U.S. News & World Report* admitted April 9—"holds out the possibility of American involvement in any future Mideast war."

President Carter's campaign on the energy crisis is part and parcel of his military and diplomatic moves. It is intended to convince the American people that we have something to protect in the Middle East, that our security is at stake there, that revolutionary upsurges in the whole region are a threat to American working people.

The giant U.S. energy corporations have no intention of giving up their control over the vast petroleum reserves in the Middle East. They fear the rise of the class struggle in the entire region—from Iran to the Horn of Africa. And they fear the deep antiwar sentiment of American workers that is blocking their use of direct military might.

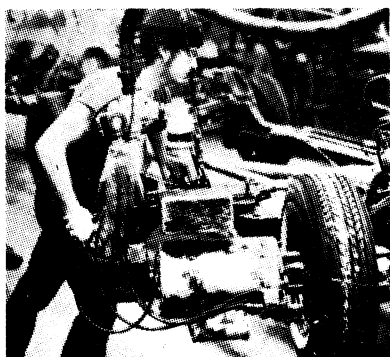
Labor has no stake in Carter's war moves in the Middle East. Our stake lies with the oppressed masses there, victims of the same profiteers we are fighting here.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Halstead discusses nukes
- 5 Thousands hit nuke danger
- 6 Teamsters' settlement
- 7 'Militant' sales
- 8 Strikers vs. NLRB
- 10 Colombian Trotskyist in peril
- 11 'Nation' hits court ruling
- 13 KKKers indicted
- 14 2,000 demonstrate in Harrisburg
- 16 Marroquin vs. gov't
- 20 Repression in Mexico
- 28 Racism in S. Africa
- 2 In Our Opinion
- 24 In Brief
What's Going On
- 25 The Great Society
Union Talk
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper...
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 22 Bhutto's death

On the scene in Kurdistan

Correspondent Gerry Foley reports on the recent fighting between forces of the Iranian government and Kurdish rebels. **Page 23.**



How we lost 40-hour week

What forced overtime does to U.S. workers and their families. **Page 12.**



Elections in Britain, Canada

Growing militancy among workers has brought down the British government and is shaking up Canadian politics. **Page 21.**



The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK
Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, David Frankel, Osborne Hart, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year; outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail U.S., Canada, and Mexico \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland £2.50 for ten issues, £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues), £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe £4 for ten issues, £8 for six months (twenty-four issues), £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant) P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

...behind energy crisis

Continued from front page

facts originate with and often are known only to the monopolies themselves.

This secrecy begins with the need of all private corporations to keep their production costs secret. What are the real figures on Exxon's global reserves? What is the cost of recovery of these reserves? The cost of pumping, refining, storing, distributing its oil on world markets? The amount of oil in inventory, the amount of gas in pipelines?

The answers to these questions and many more are known only to a handful of corporate managers.

Carter continued to claim in his energy address that the Iranian revolution was to blame for the energy emergency. But according to the International Energy Agency, American oil imports actually *increased* 1 million barrels a day in February, rather than there being any "shortfall" at all.

The U.S. oil companies stepped up their stockpiling of oil during the Iranian upsurge. They refused to ship it to dealers in order to provoke the panicky atmosphere and gas price rises that helped pave the way for Carter's de-control moves.

The wall of corporate secrecy is extended by the array of governmental agencies in Washington that protect this secrecy under the guise of "regulating" monopoly.

This was conspicuously the case with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission during the Three Mile Island crisis.

The officers of this commission pretended not to know what caused the

accident at the beginning, then they presented numerous and contradictory explanations. All the while, their main concern was not safety. It was to keep nuclear energy production going—that is, to keep up the pretense that nuclear reactors are safe.

But the facts are getting out despite the NRC. It is now known that the specific problems of the Three Mile Island reactor were known to the government months before the accident occurred. And these problems are not limited to Three Mile Island.

Windfall profits tax

Carter is well aware of the unpopularity of his moves and the growing suspicion of American workers about the oil trusts. His proposal for a windfall profits tax is a thinly disguised gimmick to give the Democrats some cover as they allow oil prices and profits to skyrocket.

Even if the tax is enacted, it will take only a fraction of the profit increase the oil companies will reap—and it will be temporary. But as the *Wall Street Journal* candidly put it in a headline, "In fourth try, windfall oil-profits tax once again is unlikely to clear Congress."

Carter is going so far as to pretend to be against the oil companies. "As surely as the sun will rise tomorrow," he declared, "the oil companies can be expected to fight to keep the profits which they have not earned. Unless you speak out, they will have more influence on the Congress than you did."

It surely has to be the most cynical remark Carter has made in a long



"Fine, thanks . . . how's the energy crisis with you?"

time. The oil trust exerts decisive control over the U.S. government. Carter has not deviated an inch from the program of the oil trust since he put his hand on the Bible on Inauguration Day 1977.

American workers *do* face an energy crisis. It hits us from all sides: Prices are too high and going higher. Supplies are short for us because we have increasing problems paying for the gasoline, heating oil, and other energy we need. Our lives are threatened by the spread of nuclear power plants

with their deadly wastes and radiation.

Our crisis is *not* caused by depletion of the earth's store of fossil fuels—plenty of coal, oil, and natural gas will remain for hundreds of years.

Our crisis is *not* caused by the demands of semicolonial countries for control over their own resources.

Our crisis is *not* caused by greed and wastefulness on the part of the average American consumer—it takes some gall for millionaire Carter to scold

Continued on next page

500 at New York meeting for Evelyn Reed

By Matilde Zimmermann

NEW YORK CITY—Five hundred people turned out here April 8 for a meeting in tribute to Evelyn Reed. A member of the Socialist Workers Party for forty years, known internationally for her contributions in the field of anthropology, and as a fighter for women's rights, Reed died of cancer March 22.

The meeting was chaired by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes. Barnes noted that hundreds of messages had been received—messages from every corner of the world, "messages from friends who were sixty years younger than her, and those who were her own contemporaries."

Mary-Alice Waters, speaking for the Political Committee of the SWP, gave the featured talk at the meeting. She paid tribute to Reed the rebel, Reed the Marxist scholar, Reed the feminist, and above all, Reed the revolutionary fighter.

"When she became convinced that the working class could transform society, Evelyn turned her back on the first thirty-five years of her life and gave every ounce of her energy to the task of building a revolutionary working-class party in the United States," Waters said.

(The complete text of Waters's

speech, as well as selections from the greetings sent to the meeting, will be printed in a forthcoming issue of the *Militant*.)

Other speakers at the meeting included Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1976; Carolyn Kerry, forty-five-year veteran of the SWP who had known and worked with Reed over the years; novelist James T. Farrell; and Connie Harris, a leader of the International Marxist Group, the British sister organization of the SWP.

Harris described Reed's leading role both as an internationally known figure in the women's liberation movement and in the world Trotskyist movement.

"Evelyn the feminist was inseparable from Evelyn the revolutionist," Harris declared. "She saw the women's movement as an integral part of the class struggle, and she understood that the liberation of women was possible only through the struggle for socialism."

A collection for the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund totaled \$7,391. The fund will be used to help establish a school where selected members of the SWP can set aside time for intensive study of Marxism.

Tributes to Evelyn Reed (1905-1979)

LOS ANGELES

Friday, April 20, 7:30 p.m.
Great Western Savings Bank
3660 Wilshire

SPEAKERS:

Pearl Chertov, Socialist Workers Party National Committee

Ruthann Miller, member of San Diego National Organization for Women

Others

SAN FRANCISCO-BAY AREA

Sunday, April 22, 3:00 p.m.
First Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin
San Francisco

SPEAKERS:

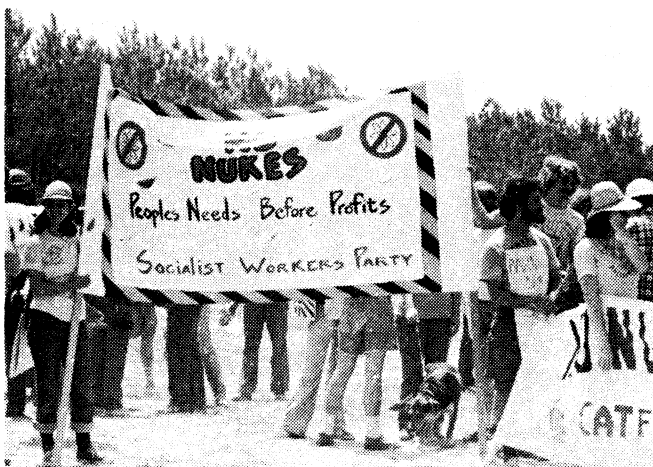
Art Sharon, veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party

Karolyn Kerry, longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party

Others

Special offer to new readers The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

Keep up with the struggle against nuclear power and nuclear weapons—and all the other battles in which working people are trying to defend their living standards, rights, and safety against capitalist encroachment. For news and analysis that cuts through the big-business and government lies, don't miss a single issue.



Subscribe today

() \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)
() \$8.50 for six months () \$15 for one year
() New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

'Bring power of unions into antinuke fight'

By Doug Jenness

The accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg has deeply affected the thinking of American working people and opened big new opportunities for the fight against the nuclear danger.

Antinuclear sentiment has soared. According to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll published April 10, 41 percent of adult Americans oppose building more nuclear power plants, up from 21 percent less than two years ago. Those favoring more plants have dropped from 69 percent to 46 percent.

When the question is posed of building a nuke "in your community," a solid 56 percent disapproves. Women were found to oppose nukes in significantly higher proportion than men.

The poll also registered distrust of government assurances on the safety of nuclear power. Only 20 percent thought "public officials have been honest in telling the public all they knew about the danger from the accident."

This heightened consciousness gives the antinuclear movement an unparalleled opportunity to get its ideas across to the masses of American working people.

"The big challenge now is to get out the truth about nuclear power to the American people," Fred Halstead told the *Militant*. Halstead, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently visited Harrisburg and Middletown, Pennsylvania, and is now completing a national speaking tour.

Halstead said that building and participating in the antinuke rallies and demonstrations set for many local areas in the coming weeks, and the Washington, D.C., action called for Sunday, May 6 by a broad spectrum of



Halstead (left) talks to steelworkers during April 8 antinuclear protest in Harrisburg. Militant/Nancy Cole

antinuke groups, can be the beginning of the major educational campaign that is needed.

The role of the labor movement will be crucial in the fight against the nuclear danger, he said. "Labor is the only force in society that has both the self-interest and the power to stop them," Halstead explained.

"The unions are the only mass organizations representing the people who are most affected by nuclear power. It's working people who bear the brunt of higher electric costs from nuclear power, for instance. And it is overwhelmingly working people who will be the victims in every nuclear accident."

"The fact that nuclear power is a class question hits you very starkly in Middletown," Halstead said. "The bosses, the rich—they can get away from town. They can afford expensive medical tests. The utility that owns Three Mile Island—after its greed nearly killed tens of thousands of people—is now going to make them pay higher bills to bail out its mistakes!"

On the other hand, he went on, "the

steelworkers, Teamsters, auto workers, and farmers in the area—no matter how frightened or angry they are—were held there as economic hostages. To leave and protect the safety of their families would mean losing pay, maybe losing jobs, maybe losing their homes."

Involve unions

"So in organizing for the upcoming demonstrations, involving unionists is vital. One of the most important things activists can do is to go after union endorsements for these actions, talk to co-workers on the job, try to get antinuclear speakers before union meetings."

"Where possible union locals should organize buses to the April 28 protests and the May 6 action in Washington. Even where union buses can't be obtained, a big effort should be made to sign up unionists for buses organized by local antinuke groups."

Halstead noted that much of the union officialdom still echoes the reactionary pronuclear stance of the corporations and the government. "We have a long and serious job ahead to bring the power of labor into this fight," he said.

The fact that some union bodies—such as District 31 of the Steelworkers—have adopted antinuclear power positions is of great significance. "Any statement, any piece of literature, put out by these unions against nuclear power ought to be given the widest possible circulation," Halstead urged.

Antinuke activists need to take a sober and cold-blooded view of the tasks ahead, the SWP leader said. "The actions coming up can be a big step in the process of educating and involving broad forces, especially within the unions. That means they can be a step toward the far more massive protests, with the big battalions of labor taking the lead, that will be required to halt the nuclear danger for good."

"And another thing," Halstead added. "The antinuclear movement has to take on this question of jobs. The argument that we need nuclear power to provide jobs is a total fraud and ought to be exposed as such. The

real fight for jobs—for demands like a big public works program and a shorter workweek—doesn't entail endangering the fate of humanity.

"The government's lies about the energy crisis are another justification for nuclear power. Where does the real solution lie? I don't think you'll get far with American workers by telling them the answer is to cut back their use of energy, to go back to a less technological society."

"Socialists think the energy problem is not technological, it's political. We say the books of the energy corporations should be opened up so we can see how they are hoarding energy resources and lying about available reserves."

"And the entire energy industry should be taken out of private hands and placed under public ownership and control. That's a proposition a lot of antinuclear activists and a lot of workers will be interested in."

Halstead singled out the important role of the *Militant* in all this. "It's the only place where you can read the truth about nuclear power and a political strategy to end it," he said.

"There's a lot of work to be done," he went on, "to educate, to involve the unions, to mobilize people. That's the challenge the movement faces and that's the challenge it has to take on."

"It's a struggle—a class struggle. And our class will have to use its organizations and its power to put a stop to nuclear power before nuclear power puts a stop to the human race."

Antinuclear protests set

The next few weeks will see a series of protests against nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

An anti-nuclear power march on Washington is set for Sunday, May 6. The demonstration has been called by Mobilization for Survival, Supporters of Silkwood, various Public Interest Research Groups, and Critical Mass Energy Project. For more information, call (202) 462-3903.

A protest against the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant, sixteen miles from Denver, is set for April 28. For more information call Rocky Flats Action Group at (303) 832-1676.

Also set for April 28 is a protest against uranium mining on Indian lands, in Grants, New Mexico, near Albuquerque.

Other upcoming protests include an April 19 rally against TRIGA, a reactor owned by Columbia University; an April 20 action in Salem, Oregon; and an April 22 demonstration at the Limerick nuclear plant site near Philadelphia.

Hear

Fred Halstead

Author of *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party

speak on
The Nuclear Danger—Lessons of the Sixties for the Movement Today

Philadelphia

Monday, April 16, 4 p.m. Bond Hall, Swarthmore College.

Tues., Apr. 17, 2:30 p.m. Temple University Humanities Bldg. Rm. 14.

Wed., Apr. 18, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Pennsylvania, Franklin Rm. Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St. Speaking with Rev. Robert Moore, national secretary, Mobilization for Survival; and Betsy Sweet, national program and activities director, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

For more information on all the above meetings, call (215) 927-4747.

New York City

Fri., Apr. 27, 7 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. Speaking with Norma Becker, War Resisters League and Mobilization for Survival; David Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days*; James Haughton, director, Harlem Fight Back; Irwin Silber, chairman, National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs; Amy Swerdlow, activist in Women's Strike for Peace and feminist movement. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

Newark, Delaware

Mon., Apr. 15, Univ. of Delaware, 8 p.m.

New Jersey

Tues., Apr. 16, 4 p.m. Stockton State
Tues., 8 p.m. Princeton Univ.

...energy

Continued from preceding page

American families for occasionally driving to the beach on a weekend.

Our energy crisis is caused by the fact that the energy industry is under the thumb of a few giant corporations, which in turn are owned by a tiny group of ruling-class families. And the same ones that own the oil and the refineries also own the lion's share of the coal, the uranium, the utilities, and so on.

Decisions that affect the jobs, health, safety, and the very lives of millions of people are made solely on the basis of what is most profitable for the private owners of the energy industry.

What is the wisest use of the earth's

resources? How can energy be produced cleanly and efficiently and cheaply? How can the safety of workers in the industry and those living near mines and generating plants be protected?

To even begin to answer these questions, we must have access to the information that is now kept secret. Opening all the books and records of the energy trust to public scrutiny is the elementary first step in dealing with the energy crisis.

"Experts" whose allegiance is to the government and the corporations tell us that nuclear power and other facets of the energy industry are too complex for ordinary mortals to understand.

That is not true. We do need technicians and scientists who will be responsible to the public welfare rather

than corporate greed. But the key decisions that must be made are not technical decisions, they are policy decisions.

Public ownership

The biggest decision we must make is to take the energy industry out of the hands of private owners and their agents in Washington. Energy should be publicly owned, and produced and distributed according to human need, not private profit.

Public ownership doesn't mean another so-called regulatory commission that is in the back pocket of private industry. It doesn't mean government-run by the likes of Harold Denton, who moved from du Pont's payroll to head up the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. That would be no

improvement.

Public ownership and control means putting the energy industry under an independent board directly elected by and responsible to the American people.

In the various sectors of the industry—such as coal mining—control should be directly exercised by the workers themselves, who will put safety first.

The inherently unsafe nuclear industry can be shut down, while safeguarding the jobs and livelihoods of the workers involved.

Open discussion and debate by working people everywhere could then lead in a scientific way, based upon examination of the facts and democratic voting on the issues, to rational energy production and use.

Thousands protest nuclear danger



New York City, April 6

Militant/Lou Howort

San Francisco

By John Lemon

SAN FRANCISCO—Thirty thousand people jammed the San Francisco Civic Center Plaza April 7 to protest nuclear power. The Abalone Alliance and Citizens for a Better Environment sponsored the "Stop Diablo Canyon" rally and alternative energy fair.

Initially called to oppose opening of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant near San Luis Obispo, the rally became a broader protest against all nuclear plants and nuclear weapons in the aftermath of Three Mile Island.

"A most dangerous nuclear bomb is being planted at Diablo Canyon virtually astride an active earthquake fault," declared San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt. "And the U.S. government and Pacific Gas and Electric are doing everything in their power to get the plant going."

Diablo Canyon is scheduled to go on line this summer.

American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks captured the mood of the crowd when he said, "We went into the streets to end the war in Vietnam and to throw out the shah. Now we need to go back into the streets to end nuclear power."

Other speakers demanded that the Rancho Seco nuclear plant near Sacramento be shut down immediately. Rancho Seco is one of eight Babcock and Wilcox reactors identical to the one at Three Mile Island. A series of protests have taken place at the plant in the past week. Gov. Jerry Brown has called on the federal government to temporarily shut down Rancho Seco but refuses to use his own authority to close the plant as a hazard to life in California.

Ralph Nader debunked the myth that nuclear power creates jobs.

"There was no one working in Harrisburg last week," Nader said.

Musicians Bonnie Raitt, Joan Baez, and others performed between speakers, but the mood was serious. People came to hear the speakers and check out the alternative energy fair that ran concurrently with the rally.

Chants of "No nukes" and "Stop Diablo" periodically swept the crowd. Signs and banners expressed the spirit of the growing antinuke movement. "Hell No We Won't Glow" and "No Nukes Is Good Nukes" were popular slogans.

Late in the afternoon hundreds were still arriving.

Another target of the protest was the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory just east of the Bay Area. Administered by the University of California at Berkeley, Lawrence Livermore is a major nuclear weapons research facility and has played a key role in

the development of every nuclear weapon from the first atom bomb to the neutron bomb. Activists have called an action May 5 and 6 at the laboratory.

Other speakers included Daniel Ellsberg, Dave Jenkins from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and Sue Englander from the National Organization for Women and the Karen Silkwood Fund.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance from around the Bay Area sold nearly 1,200 *Militants*. One hundred copies of the *Young Socialist* and more than \$300 worth of socialist books and pamphlets were sold. The SWP booth attracted big crowds all day.

Los Angeles

By Joan Quinn

LOS ANGELES—More than 1,500 protesters rallied at McArthur Park here April 7 demanding the shutdown of all nuclear power plants in the state.

Many of the participants, including most of the several hundred high school students at the rally were attending a demonstration for the first time. When one speaker asked how many people had been reached as a result of leafleting on *The China Syndrome* movie lines, hundreds raised their hands.

During the rally, volunteers readied 200,000 copies of a four-page tabloid, *Radioactive Times*, for distribution by demonstrators in nearby communities. Their efforts were spurred by news that the San Onofre nuclear power plant, 100 miles south of Los Angeles, had been shut down the evening before to repair some leaking valves.

Speakers at the demonstration included *The China Syndrome* author Tom Cook and Kurt Kubbard, a supervisor for San Luis Obispo County, where the Diablo plant is located.

"We're getting no support from elected officials," Kubbard complained. "They have no answers. They just hope it will go away."

"But," he concluded, "if this movement does grow, and the message is carried to a broad section of the population, we can get these plants shut down."

This theme was echoed in a message from Social Service Union Local 535, which went on record at their April 4 membership meeting endorsing the demonstration and condemning nukes.

"Recently, most unions were on record supporting nuclear power," their message to the rally stated. "Now we can start to turn that around."

The potential for mobilizing unions

in the fight against nuclear power was also indicated by substantially increased plant-gate sales of the special *Militant* supplement. At the Bethlehem plant here, sales reached thirty-one copies, triple the usual number.

At the rally, the *Militant* was also given a friendly reception. Three hundred fifteen copies, and sixty copies of the *Young Socialist*, were sold.

Phoenix

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX—A thousand people gathered on one week's notice here April 7, calling on Arizona Public Service Company to halt construction on its Palo Verde nuclear power plant. A local TV station described the protesters as "unionists, construction workers, grandparents, and students."

Rally speaker Cobey McCarthy, a member of Laborers Local 383, which organizes the Palo Verde construction site, told the crowd that "before Harrisburg, construction workers at the plant were in favor of nuclear power. But since Harrisburg, many of the workers are saying that they'll build this plant but they never want to see it open."

The protest was sponsored by Mobilization for Survival and Palo Verde Truth Force.

New York

By Doug Cooper

NEW YORK—In the largest anti-nuclear power demonstration to date in New York City, 3,500 people rallied at the offices of Consolidated Edison April 6. Con Ed operates a nuclear power plant at Indian Point,

thirty-five miles from Manhattan.

The rally and the march to the offices of Gov. Hugh Carey that followed were sponsored by the SHAD Alliance, Mobilization for Survival, and the War Resisters League.

Speakers at the rally included Michio Kaku, a professor of nuclear physics; Dr. Ira Helfin, a Boston pediatrician; Dave Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days*; and Barbara Ehrenreich, author and member of the New American Movement. Bart Meyers of the New York Mobilization for Survival chaired the meeting.

Chanting "No nukes" and "No more Harrisburgs," the thousands of protesters, many of them high school and college students, called for the immediate closing of the Indian Point reactor.

Dallas

By Gene Lantz

DALLAS—Two hundred seventy-five people came to a town meeting on nuclear power here April 5. The Sierra Club, Armadillo Coalition of Texas, and Citizens Association for Sound Energy organized people to attend.

Despite the presence of two pronuclear speakers from the Texas Utility Company, only one of thirty speakers during the discussion was in favor of nuclear power. Among the antinuke speakers was Gretchen Jarvis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.

On April 7, ninety-five angry protesters picketed the Texas Utility offices, demanding a halt to construction of the Comanche Peak nuclear power plant.

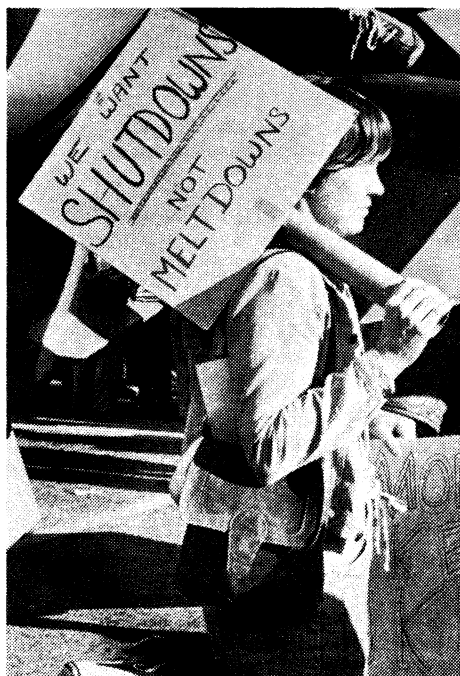
Groton, Conn.

About 3,000 people protested the launching of the first Trident submarine here April 7. The 200-yard-long nuclear sub can fire nuclear warheads at more than 400 targets simultaneously. Each Trident costs more than \$1 billion.

Twelve thousand guests watched Rosalynn Carter launch the deadly vessel.

More than 200 people were arrested and charged with trying to block the entrance to the shipyard.

Protests against nuclear power also took place over the April 7-8 weekend in St. Paul; Parsippany, New Jersey, headquarters of General Public Utilities, which owns Metropolitan Edison, operator of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant; Milwaukee; Tucson; Denver; St. Louis; and Portland, Oregon.



Militant/Howard Petrick

One of 30,000 San Francisco protesters

Pact announced in 10-day Teamsters' strike

By Fred Feldman

After ten days of a strike by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters against seventy-three trucking firms, and an employer lockout of truck drivers at hundreds of other companies, agreement was announced April 10 on a three-year Master Freight Agreement covering 300,000 drivers and warehouse workers.

The April 11 *Wall Street Journal* touted the agreement as providing a 30 percent pay increase over three years, a significant stretching of Carter's 7 percent ceiling on wage increases.

But the *Journal's* own figures tell a different story. Giving a figure of \$9.65 as the average hourly pay for union truck drivers, it reports they will get an increase of \$.80 an hour the first year and \$.35 in each of the next two years. A cost-of-living adjustment will add an estimated \$.85 cents during the life of the contract.

This adds up to an increase of \$2.35 or 24 percent over three years. It clearly doesn't even begin to bring union members abreast of today's double-digit inflation rates.

Initial reports gave no inkling of how other union demands—which weighted heavier for many Teamsters than the dispute over basic wage rates—fared in the settlement. These included:

- equitable pay rates for owner-operators,
- restrictions on compulsory overtime, which now forces many truckers to work a seventy-hour week at straight-time pay,
- limits on company "productivity" measures that endanger health and safety. The union asked for guaranteed forty-eight-hour stretches of time off and restrictions on company efforts to increase the size of vans relative to cabs (a significant cause of injuries and deaths in accidents).

Whatever the contract terms, these issues will continue to be fought over in the next three years in the daily tug-of-war between truckers and their profit-hungry bosses.

Vote

Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons said he expected union members to be back on the job within twenty-four hours, before a contract vote is held.

The proposed contract will be submitted to a ratification procedure that is rigged to assure acceptance of any terms endorsed by top union officials. Two-thirds of the membership must vote no in order to reject a contract



Teamsters showed workers are ready to fight Carter's wage-cutting drive

proposal, and riders, which set the real contract terms for many drivers, aren't voted on at all.

The strike was another test of the Carter administration's ability to bully workers into accepting wage settlements within the 7 percent guidelines. Teamsters were threatened with quick deregulation of the trucking industry—a move they fear will undermine the union—if they refuse a "reasonable" settlement. But their walkout in spite of such pressure proved workers are ready and willing to fight to defend their rights against both the employers and the federal government.

Truck drivers, like other workers, are angry about the attacks on their living standards and working conditions. Their anger has been fueled by recent events that exposed the Carter administration's claim to be defending "all the people."

"Inflation hurts everybody," Carter's economic experts were fond of saying. They promised that prices would stop rising if workers accepted lower wages. What happened?

Prices are increasing at a 15 percent

clip this year, after rising about 10 percent in 1978. Workers' real wages dropped 1.2 percent in the past year while profits jumped 26 percent.

Use union power

Millions who at first were willing to give Carter's guidelines a chance are now convinced that his "anti-inflation" program has nothing to do with lowering the cost of living and everything to do with increasing profits at the expense of workers.

A mood has grown up of readiness to use union power to take what workers are entitled to and not what the government or the employers say they should settle for.

Administration credibility, already in a tailspin, took a big blow when the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island showed how the government has lied for years about the dangers posed by such plants. On top of that came Carter's decontrol of domestic oil prices, which everyone knows will add billions to prices and oil company profits.

Faced with this mood of rising anger and distrust, the Carter administration was not eager to provoke a confrontation with the Teamsters on the scale of last year's battle with the miners.

Carter's professional wage-squeezer—the Council on Wage and Price Stability—decided on a posture of yielding ground in the name of "stretching" the guidelines and rendering them more "flexible." They counted on the Teamsters officialdom to cooperate in saving the heart of Carter's wage guidelines—keeping wage increases well under the rate of inflation.

The workers' mood also influenced the public stance of the top Teamsters officials. Fitzsimmons, who some months ago was even dropping hints about supporting Carter's guidelines, felt compelled to talk a tougher line as the talks went on.

The employers and Carter's "mediator" gave way on a few issues in the course of the negotiations and strike. Out of a \$.58 retroactive cost-of-living increase for 1978, \$.21 was excepted from the guidelines. Exceptions were also made to allow "fringe benefit" payments to be maintained at present levels or slightly increased. And the union won its demand for a semi-annual rather than annual cost-of-living increase.

Machinists strike

In other cases where Carter's wage-cutting program has run into union members determined to fight back, the guidelines have simply been brushed aside. Members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers have voted down two contract offers from United Airlines said to total 35-40 percent over three years. They are now on strike determined to crack the 7 percent ceiling set by Carter. And in New York City, tugboat deck hands have struck demanding a wage increase of 40 percent.

As the Teamsters strike continued, other workers were beginning to indicate their support.

Auto workers laid off in the first days of the strike rejected employer efforts to scapegoat the Teamsters. In radio and television interviews, they let it be known that the Teamsters' fight against the 7 percent guideline was their fight as well.

Despite the Teamsters' undemocratic ratification procedures, it is likely that the 300,000 truck drivers and warehouse workers haven't spoken their last word on Carter's guidelines.

On the road: drivers say 'no' to 7% guidelines

By Bill Warrick

Interstate 40 eastbound—I work as an over-the-road household goods hauler. In the course of my job I drive to forty-eight states and Canada. One of the job's benefits is the opportunity to hear the opinions of other truck drivers on all sorts of subjects. These are readily expressed over the CB radio and at truck stops and cafés.

On a recent trip I set aside one day's drive of 500 miles from Albuquerque to Oklahoma City to conduct an informal poll of what drivers working under the Master Freight Agreement thought as the April 1 contract deadline approached. In particular, I wanted to know what they thought about Carter's wage guidelines. After pulling out of Albuquerque, I overtook a Yellow Freight's driver. As I went by, I called to him over the radio and asked whether he was ready to take a "vacation" starting April 1.

"You got that right," he said. "I'm ready to shut down now and walk."

In response to a question about

Carter's 7 percent wage limit, he voiced an opinion shared by all the drivers I've spoken with: "How can you get by on 7 percent when everything else is going up by 20 percent?"

About eighty miles down the road, I caught up with a Roadway Express driver and arranged to meet for coffee at a nearby truck stop.

We introduced ourselves. He was Roy Baines, also known by his handle "Polecat." Baines said he often drives from Oklahoma City to Roadway's terminal in Moriarty, New Mexico, and back again three times a week. The seventy-hour workweek is the norm for the vast majority of road drivers.

"The companies will work you just as much as you're willing to be worked," Baines said. "The employers are unwilling to hire more drivers because of the health and retirement benefits the union contract requires them to pay for each employee."

"What do I think of the 7 percent?" Baines said. "Not much. Especially when I've heard that Roadway's profits are up something like 28 percent."

Like all the drivers I've talked to, Baines is very concerned about inflation. "But why should the drivers have

to pay the whole price for the cure?" he asked.

I asked Baines what he thought about Carter's role in the contract talks. "I never have liked him. Any man that smiles at you all the time like that is getting ready to reach into your wallet."

He criticized Teamster officials who have proposed striking only selected companies instead of all the freight outfits covered by the MFA. "It stinks. It reduces our bargaining power," he said. "Since Fitzsimmons, it seems like the union has given away something in every contract."

INDOCHINA WAR

SPECIAL FEATURE

Articles by Ernest Mandel, Tariq Ali, Livio Maitan, Camilo González, Steve Clark, Eduardo Medrano, Fred Feldman, Japan Revolutionary Communist League

Don't miss the special April 9, 1979, issue of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Order your copy for 75 cents now. Better yet, subscribe: Introductory offer to new readers is \$6 for three months; for six months, \$12; for one year, \$24. Order from Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

Special nuke issue spurs sales efforts

By Peter Seidman

As the scope of the government's cover-up at Three Mile Island became known, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance launched a campaign to get out the truth about nukes—and why the labor movement should take the lead in the fight to shut them down.

On March 30, the socialists decided to publish a special, eight-page supplement to the *Militant*. Within seventy-two hours, the first copies were being sold in Harrisburg.

socialists take their ideas seriously. We have confidence that these ideas will find an increasingly receptive audience among working people.

This confidence was confirmed by sales in the area of the Three Mile Island plant (see box, this page).

Our supporters sold 929 *Militants* and twenty-six subscriptions there in one week.

Plant-gate sales in this heavily industrial area accounted for 111 of the total. Another 200 or so were sold door to door in nearby working-class neigh-



Selling the 'Militant' at Harrisburg antinuclear rally April 8 Militant/Arnold Weissberg

This required quite an effort. Reporters were dispatched to gather eyewitness accounts. Branches throughout the country planned special sales and ordered increased bundles. Teams from Morgantown, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York City readied to sell the papers in the Harrisburg area. The special supplement was written, typeset, printed, and shipped out in two and a half days.

We can be very proud of the results of this bold nationwide initiative.

As the scoreboard shows, branches reported selling 15,238 papers. That is more than double the regular weekly goal. It is also the highest total since April 1977, when socialists sold nearly 17,000 papers during a national target week.

The SWP and YSA sprang into action this way because revolutionary

borhoods. Students at Harrisburg Area Community College snapped up another 230.

And 307 papers were sold at an antinuke rally of 2,000 in Harrisburg on April 8.

Socialists across the country brought their views on what to do about the nuclear crisis to thousands of others who also joined protests following the disaster.

As in Harrisburg, a strikingly high percentage of the protesters bought the *Militant*.

Socialists in the four San Francisco Bay Area branches of the SWP sold every paper they had—1,140—April 7 at an antinuke demonstration of 30,000.

Los Angeles socialists sold 325 *Militants* and some eighty copies of the

Continued on page 10

Harrisburg sales teams: 'People wanted to talk'

By Nancy Cole

HARRISBURG, Pa—People wanted to talk. They poured out their stories of trauma and disruption caused by the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island.

That's what socialists from Morgantown, West Virginia, reported after selling the *Militant* door-to-door in this area April 7. The day's total sales came to 105 single copies and eleven subscriptions.

"Three different times, women told me they couldn't spare the fifty cents, so I gave them a special supplement free," says Hilde Edler. "Two or three houses later, a little kid would run up and say, 'Momma changed her mind,' and hand me money for the new issue."

"One woman knocked on her window to get my attention when she saw the *Militant* headline, 'Act now to stop nuclear power!'" reports Tom Moriarty. "She said she works in a shoe factory, and she has heard talk at work that if Met Ed tries to make the customers pay for cleaning up

the plant, people are going to demonstrate against it."

Salespeople that day also distributed about 500 leaflets advertising the protest rally at the Harrisburg capitol the next day.

At a project in Middletown, an older Black woman bought a *Militant*, took about thirty leaflets and a stack of supplements, and said she would pass them out to her friends at church that night.

One young man with a two-year-old daughter, who lives in a trailer within sight of the nuclear towers, bought a subscription from Carol Burke. "I helped build that plant," he said, "and I don't think they're telling us everything."

At one house visited by Edler, two boys started reading the *Militant*. One of them, about ten years old, said, "I hope they shut them all down. I'm going to demonstrate." Their mother bought a *Militant* and took extra supplements to pass around. The next day, Edler ran into all of them at the Harrisburg demonstration.

Special issue sales

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
San Francisco	275	1509		10	275	1519	552.3
Iron Range	35	178			35	178	508.5
Birmingham	50	246			50	246	492.0
Boston	200	994	25	23	225	1017	452.0
Morgantown	100	429			100	429	429.0
Phoenix	115	489	35	52	150	541	360.6
Albuquerque	115	469	20	12	135	481	356.2
Philadelphia	225	880	25	0	250	880	352.0
San Antonio	60	237	20	27	80	264	330.0
Los Angeles	320	1100	80	53	400	1153	288.2
Atlanta	145	430	5	0	150	430	286.6
Berkeley	145	424	5	0	150	424	282.6
Oakland	145	440	15	7	160	447	279.3
Albany	100	282	5	6	105	288	274.2
San Jose	105	323	15	5	120	328	273.3
Newark	130	374	15	4	145	378	260.6
Minneapolis	150	349			150	349	232.6
St. Paul	100	217			100	217	217.0
New York City	540	1251	60	48	600	1299	216.5
Dallas	125	284	20	28	145	312	215.1
Cincinnati	75	160			75	160	213.3
Seattle	145	290	5	0	150	290	193.3
Toledo	100	184	5	3	105	187	178.0
Baltimore	100	177			100	177	177.0
Detroit	175	304	5	0	180	304	168.8
Salt Lake City	130	226	5	0	135	226	167.4
San Diego	105	201	20	0	125	201	160.8
Tacoma	125	195			125	195	156.0
Louisville	100	155			100	155	155.0
Miami	100	189	30	3	130	192	147.6
Gary	75	109			75	109	145.3
Cleveland	115	174	5	0	120	174	145.0
Kansas City	110	138			110	138	125.4
Chicago	310	412	40	0	350	412	117.7
Pittsburgh	200	232			200	232	116.0
Denver	120	157	20	5	140	162	115.7
Milwaukee	120	140	5	1	125	141	112.8
Washington, D.C.	230	239	20	25	250	264	105.6
Portland	100	104			100	104	104.0
Indianapolis	115	93			115	93	80.8
Houston	200	129	50	13	250	142	56.8
TOTALS	6,403	14,913	555	325	6,958	15,238	219.0

Not reporting: Amherst; Iowa City; New Orleans; Raleigh; St. Louis; Vermont.

For sales of special 'Militant' supplement; issue number thirteen; and the second week of sales of issue number six of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

Cumulative sales

CITY	NO. WEEKS SUB		AT GOAL	POINTS	TOTAL SALES		
	SINGLE COPIES	PM			GOAL	SOLD	PERCENT
Birmingham	835		4	260	700	1095	156.4
Newark	1077	58	2	890	2000	2025	101.2
Dallas	1044	151	4	1210	2600	2405	92.5
Phoenix	1088	243	4	570	2100	1901	90.5
San Francisco	2314	72	1	400	3150	2786	88.4
Iron Range	340		3	450	900	790	87.7
Baltimore	577		3	660	1500	1237	82.4
Vermont	64		1	100	200	164	82.0
Toledo	702	20	2	410	1400	1132	80.8
Miami	668	161	3	960	2300	1789	77.7
Cincinnati	531		2	270	1050	801	76.2
Philadelphia	1935	54	3	660	3500	2649	75.6
Atlanta	1050		4	810	2500	1860	74.4
Los Angeles	2723	266	4	1360	5900	4349	73.7
Albany	708	17	3	350	1500	1075	71.6
Boston	1716	57	1	600	3500	2373	67.8
St. Paul	621	3	1	270	1400	894	63.8
Tacoma	773		2	340	1750	1113	63.6
Washington, D.C.	1479	154	3	580	3500	2213	63.2
Amherst, Mass.			0	90	150	90	60.0
Detroit	859		2	640	2500	1499	59.9
Morgantown	799		3	270	1800	1069	59.3
Albuquerque	1141	121	3	510	3000	1772	59.0
Seattle	1161	2	4	400	2700	1563	57.8
San Antonio	431	61	2	310	1440	802	55.6
New York City	3026	638	2	2420	11000	6084	55.3
Minneapolis	819	11	1	550	2500	1380	55.2
San Jose	706	53	2	220	1800	979	54.3
Portland	471	5	2	500	1800	976	54.2
Kansas City	685	2	2	150	1550	837	54.0
Salt Lake City	861	9	9	450	2450	1320	53.8
Milwaukee	357		8	570	1750	935	53.4
Cleveland	614	10	2	270	1680	894	53.2
Denver	492	53	1	490	2000	1035	51.7
Chicago	1605	113	3	810	4900	2528	51.5
San Diego	542	50	2	490	2100	1082	51.5
Pittsburgh	886	5	1	530	2800	1421	50.7
Gary	400	2	3	130	1050	532	50.6
Berkeley	929	2	2	110	2100	1041	49.5
Indianapolis	564		1	160	1500	724	48.2
St. Louis	405		1	550	2100	955	45.4
Oakland	577	22	1	380	2240	979	43.7
Louisville	457		3	280	1800	737	40.9
Raleigh	410		3	300	1750	710	40.5
Iowa City	92		0	100	500	192	38.4
New Orleans	130		0	200	1400	380	27.1
Houston	527	57	0	140	3500	724	20.6
Misc.				890		890	
TOTALS	40,241	2,480		24,060	100,000	66,781	

Steelworkers suspend Va. shipyard strike

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., April 11—Striking members of United Steelworkers Local 8888 began to receive official word today of the decision by the negotiating committee and local executive board to suspend their ten-week-old strike against Tenneco's Newport News shipyard.

In recent weeks Tenneco has stepped up its scab recruitment campaign, and cops have arrested more union pickets. Then on April 9 a National Labor Relations Board judge announced that a decision would "probably not" be reached on the union's representation rights until next October.

The initial reaction of many Local 8888 members, who learned of the surprise decision on TV or during morning picket duty, was a combination of shock, confusion, and anger.

A December strike authorization vote had given union negotiators the authority to both call and suspend a strike. The vote to end the strike was

twenty-two to nine.

On April 13, Local 8888 will hold its first general membership meeting since December. On April 16, strikers are supposed to return to their jobs.

Tenneco's strategy all along has been to exhaust the union by dragging it through an endless mire of legal proceedings. The company's latest stall tactic is a suit charging the Steelworkers with vote fraud in their January 1978 election victory. That suit reopened the present NLRB investigation.

"When we've finished these legal proceedings, we may be forced to resume striking to get a just and decent contract, and, if necessary, we are prepared to do just that," Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby stated in a letter to union members explaining the leadership's decision.

The union is going back to "reform and regroup," Steelworkers spokesperson Bill Edwards told the *Militant*. As a result of court delays and

pro-scab "right to work" laws, the strike has suffered "attrition," he said. "We still have a formal majority out. But a lot in the yard are sympathetic. We have to go back in and organize them."

But Tenneco has its own plans for the Steelworkers once inside the yard: to harass, discipline, and discharge union members. That's exactly what the company did in the months preceding the strike; more than 100 Steelworkers were illegally fired.

A Tenneco spokesperson told the local *Times-Herald* today that strikers would have to "reapply" for their jobs by making an "unconditional offer" to return to work—that is, no union rights allowed.

These "unconditional" applicants will then be placed on a "recall" list to be called back at the company's discretion. Strikers will not be guaranteed the same jobs, and Tenneco's 1,100 scabs will remain.

Tenneco is legally required to re-

hire all strikers only if the NLRB rules the strike an "unfair labor practice" dispute. NLRB General Counsel John Irving issued such a complaint against Tenneco April 9, but it has yet to be upheld by the entire board. Moreover, the company is free to appeal this decision.

"Tenneco is going to put their foot up our ass when we go back," one picket told the *Militant*. "It'll be like a jungle in there," another added.

At a meeting attended by some 100 strikers tonight, local leaders who had voted against returning to work insisted that the entire Local 8888 membership have the right to vote for themselves at the April 13 meeting.

The article below shows how the government's NLRB has helped Tenneco every step of the way. Written before the April 11 back-to-work announcement, it discusses what the strikers are up against and what it would take to win.

NLRB: Whose side is it on?

By Shelley Kramer

The National Labor Relations Board has just dashed any hopes that it will provide justice for the 15,500 production workers at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company.

The shipyard workers, members of United Steelworkers Local 8888, have been on strike since January for union recognition. For the past few weeks the NLRB has been holding hearings into alleged vote fraud on the part of the Steelworkers in their January 1978 election victory.

Despite pleas from union leaders for a quick decision, Melvin Welles, the board's administrative law judge, announced April 8 that it didn't expect to rule on the case until next October—a full year after it certified the union in the first place.

USWA spokesperson Bill Edwards calls the hearings a "farce."

Dozens of company-union finks have lined up to testify that they saw evidence of "chain balloting" in the elections—blank ballots outside the polling places.

Somewhat the Steelworkers are supposed to have passed enough of these ballots outside to throw the election in their favor. It would have taken more than 1,500 to do so. Quite a feat, since workers were herded to the booths by their eagle-eyed foremen.

The NLRB investigated the election for nine months before certifying the union in October 1978. It couldn't turn up a stitch of evidence against the USWA.

These hearings "give Tenneco the chance to test the resolve of our people by dragging things out," Edwards told the *Militant* last month. "The law is on trial here. This is not where you find justice. The only place we get justice is on the picket line."

Bailing out Tenneco

Bailing out Tenneco is not a new role for the NLRB in the Newport News organizing battle.

"Anyone who has followed the Steelworkers' fight for recognition must surely be sickened . . . by the deliberate contriving of delays and more delays, the compounding and interweaving of suits and countersuits, the limitless investigations of such absurd and impracticable charges as 'chain voting,' the endless grinding on and on unto infinity of ponderous legal machinery," a strike supporter wrote to the local *Daily Press* in March.

In fact, whenever the Steelworkers have been on the verge of victory as a result of their own organizing efforts,



February 24 solidarity march in Newport News. Strikers urgently need labor support to beat back Tenneco-government attacks.

the courts and NLRB have stepped in to "mediate." The "endless grinding" of their legal machinery has given Tenneco time to recover and strike back.

In 1975, for example, the Designers Association of Newport News (DANN), an independent union, voted to affiliate to the USWA. Tenneco not only refused to recognize the Steelworkers; it rescinded its recognition of DANN as well.

DANN then filed "unfair labor practice" charges against Tenneco with the NLRB. The board reinstated DANN but refused to recognize its membership's vote for the Steelworkers.

In 1977 the designers voted USWA again—by an 80 percent majority. This time the NLRB was forced to certify the USWA. But as a condition of bargaining, Tenneco demanded that 500 designing jobs be transferred out of union jurisdiction.

In April 1977 the designers struck. More than a year later, in July 1978, the NLRB ruled that company efforts to pull jobs away from the union was an unfair labor practice and ordered Tenneco to "cease and desist." Tenneco refused, appealing the NLRB decision to the Fourth Circuit Court.

Snails-pace 'justice'

So four years from their first vote for the Steelworkers—and two years since their strike for a union contract began—the designers are still out on the picket lines, still denied union rights. Many have had to move away to find work—thanks in large part to the NLRB's snail's-pace "justice." In

1976 shipyard production workers began their own organizing drive, harassed at every turn by Tenneco and its company union. Again the Steelworkers filed unfair labor practice charges with the NLRB—for discriminatory discharges, threats, and physical abuse. Again Tenneco refused to comply with any unfavorable NLRB decision, pursuing endless appeals through the courts and NLRB itself.

The company used this reprieve to crack down on union supporters, illegally firing at least 100 pro-USWA workers. It also used the long delay to complete major construction projects and put itself in a stronger position to take a strike.

One full year after the election, on January 31, 1979, the Steelworkers were forced to strike for recognition. NLRB certification had gotten the union nowhere.

Now the Steelworkers are back to step one of this legal detour—the NLRB is again considering the union's representation rights.

"It wouldn't take years to line up the union if they broke the law," the union's supporter complained to the *Daily Press*. "They would be slapped with an injunction in a matter of hours, perhaps minutes, and subsequently fined with all deliberate speed. In addition their leaders would likely receive jail sentences."

"There is nothing fair about a judicial process that rewards the guilty and punishes the innocent. Tenneco profits by each day of delay, while unwarranted burdens are heaped upon the strikers."

Absolutely right. There is nothing fair about employers' justice—whether administered by the courts or the NLRB.

It's easy enough to see where the courts stand in Newport News. They've convicted dozens of Steelworkers—exercising constitutional freedoms on the picket line—for violating Virginia's "right to work" laws.

"They're with the shipyard all the way," Larry Childress told the *Militant* after his day in court. "A worker just doesn't have a chance."

But many workers hoped the NLRB was different. After all, it poses as an "impartial" defender of their legal rights to organize and bargain collectively.

The courts and NLRB are really just two arms of the same antilabor government. The same presidents who impose wage controls and issue strikebreaking injunctions appoint NLRB judges. Antilabor laws such as Taft-Hartley are what the NLRB is in business to enforce. And federal courts that hand down anti-union decisions every day—like ordering a new investigation of the Steelworkers—have the final say over all NLRB decisions.

Even when labor "wins" before the NLRB, it often ends up losing. Newport News is not an exceptional case.

J.P. Stevens

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union has been trying to organize J.P. Stevens plants in the South for more than ten years. Like Tenneco, Stevens has illegally fired

union supporters and refused to recognize NLRB certification. It has also been found guilty of wiretapping union organizers, closing plants to avoid unionization, and changing working conditions to penalize union members.

Stevens has been hit with twenty-five different NLRB complaints. It has been convicted at least sixteen times, eleven at the highest appeals court level.

Where do the textile workers stand today? Not an inch closer to justice. Stevens just appeals as long as it can. Then at worst it pays a few dollars in fines to keep the union out of its sweatshops.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen just "scored a major legal victory" with the NLRB, says the February-March issue of the union's magazine.

Here's the story. In 1976 an Iowa beef slaughter plant closed down, only to reopen one week later under a new name and with company-union labor. After three years an appeals court finally ruled that yes, indeed, the corporation was guilty of discriminatory hiring.

The plant's eighty-three union workers still don't have their jobs back, though.

The company is thinking about appealing to the Supreme Court—more time to stall. But the real kicker is that in 1977, after the NLRB ruled against them, the bosses simply packed up and closed down the Iowa plant for a second time! Now the union is pressing another round of NLRB charges.

Miners' strike

These are just two examples of what happens when the NLRB rules "for" labor. But these days it's even more likely unions will lose outright—and when they do, the sword of government "justice" is far swifter.

For instance, the courts didn't keep Carter waiting for a minute when he asked for a Taft-Hartley injunction against the 1977-78 coal miners' strike. Then, right in the middle of the strike, the NLRB filed suit against the United Mine Workers, charging miners who were picketing nonunion mines with conducting an "illegal secondary boycott."

The NLRB has contributed to the disorganization—not the organization—of the labor movement. With its "help," union membership has slipped from 33.2 percent of the non-agricultural workforce in 1958 to 24.5 percent in 1976. Union victories in representation elections fell to 48 percent in 1977—down from 59 percent in 1960—while losses in decertification elections were up from 69 percent to 76 percent in the same period. The NLRB's 1978 report shows unfair labor charges against unions rising at nearly twice the rate of charges against management.

Does this mean the NLRB has changed? Was it prolabor in the past and only recently molded into an anti-labor tool?

Not at all. The NLRB today is doing exactly the job it was cut out for.

Right to organize

The NLRB was set up to administer the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, also known as the Wagner Act. Christened labor's "Magna Carta" by AFL leaders, section 7a of the Wagner Act supposedly gave labor the right to organize unions and bargain through them.

But the Wagner Act didn't "give" workers anything. They had already seized their right to organize in gigantic strike battles like those fought by Minneapolis Teamsters, Toledo auto workers, and San Francisco longshore workers in 1934. Battles fought against the same obstacles the Newport News strikers are up against—cops, state troopers, company goons, antilabor laws, local, state, and federal governments.

But by relying on their own strength—and reaching out for support from the unemployed, working farmers, youth, and all those hard hit



Minneapolis Teamsters battle company goons and deputies in 1934. Workers won right to organize against same obstacles striking Steelworkers face.

by the depression—they were able to overcome these obstacles. They build massive industrial unions—the most powerful the world has seen. They brushed aside streams of strikebreaking court injunctions like so many scraps of paper. And many began to consider the need for political independence as well—for a labor party to speak and act in their interests.

The employers and their government proved unable to defeat this upsurge head-on, so they decided to try to contain and tame it.

"It is difficult to imagine what this country would be like had there been no National Labor Relations Act and no NLRB," said one-time board Chairperson Betty Murphy on the occasion of the agency's fortieth anniversary.

"The act was born in a period of extreme economic disruption. The discord and discontent that swirled up into the storm of labor-management conflict in the mid-1930s required a reasoned, systematic method framed by law to produce economic progress through a just balancing act of economic power."

'Balancing act'

"Balancing act" is right! The balance of the capitalist free-enterprise system had to be restored. Under the guise of granting legal recognition to the unions, the government began the long process of sapping their real power by strangling them in a web of legal restrictions.

The Wagner Act "attempts to shift the fate of all the conditions of the workers . . . from the field of battle in strike struggles . . . where militancy counts as an important asset, to the decisions of labor boards and judges of the capitalist courts," declared the *Militant* in 1935. Big organizing gains would be made when the unions relied on their own strength, not the goodwill of the NLRB. The NLRB would rule for labor only when labor left it no choice.

Our prediction proved right. Auto workers, for example, organized their industry through hard-fought confrontation in the General Motors sit-down strikes of 1936-37. The NLRB contributed nothing whatsoever to their victories.

During World War II, the Roosevelt administration pulled its legal noose still tighter around labor's neck. But its War Labor Board, no-strike pledge, and wage freeze failed to avert the massive strike wave that arose at the war's end. Something extra was needed—the Taft-Hartley Act and an NLRB equipped to enforce it.

According to then-Senator Fred Hartley, a chief architect of this reactionary legislation, the NLRB was revamped in 1947 so it could "gain the complete confidence of a majority of American employers." Judges were added to the board and its powers enhanced.

The labor movement responded with mass demonstrations and work stoppages against what was universally known as the "slave-labor act." Union

leaders called for a boycott of the new NLRB.

In 1947 the United Steelworkers Executive Board declared it would be "deluding" steelworkers "if it holds any hope that use of the facilities of the new labor board would provide any protection for workers seeking to organize unions and exercise their rights to engage in collective bargaining."

It is well worth remembering that today's NLRB is the NLRB of 1947. Its job is still to enforce all the antilabor provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act—from "right to work," to union anticommunist clauses, bans on secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes, and unfair labor practice suits against unions.

During the nearly a quarter-century of overall capitalist economic expansion, marked by a slow but steady rise in workers' living standards, the dangers of growing government control over collective bargaining were little noticed. To the contrary, the NLRB legal machinery was widely seen as one natural part of a new era of permanent "labor-management peace."

Those days are gone. Driven by profit-greed in a time of worldwide economic convulsions and crises, the employers are out to take back every gain the workers have won. The government is shedding its neutral image to give the bosses a more direct hand.

And the trap of NLRB regulation of union affairs is being sprung.

This makes clear why the AFL-CIO's campaign for labor law reform was an exercise in futility from the start. Union officials claimed what was needed was to streamline and strengthen the NLRB, as though the government's labor laws and institutions are well-meaning but just ineffective.

Labor law reform

"The time has come to make the nation's principal labor law work as it was intended to work," says an AFL-CIO brochure, "to guarantee the legal rights and human rights of all American workers. If adopted by Congress, this labor law reform program would bring the 1935 law up to date and restore balance and fairness to labor relations in the '70s, and '80s and beyond."

According to George Meany, labor law reform will prove that "law and order" in labor-management relations will benefit not only business and labor, but the entire nation."

But "balance," "fairness," and "law and order" in the capitalist government's regulation of labor-management relations can mean just one thing: safeguarding the rights of a tiny wealthy minority to exploit working people. Safeguarding the rights of lawbreakers like Tenneco.

The problem with the NLRB is not that it's too weak. The problem is that it's on the wrong side, the bosses' side.

Does this mean that strikes and organizing drives—like in Newport News—are hopeless? Does it mean unions have no defense against the employer-government offensive?

Not at all. Recognizing the NLRB and all the government's laws and agencies for what they are—enemies, not friends—is an important step in fighting back. Working people can win today the way they won in the 1930s—by relying on their own power, fighting for their own interests, and reaching out to their real allies.

That's also the way the coal miners blocked the coal operators' union busting last year.

When Carter backed up the bosses with a Taft-Hartley strikebreaking injunction, the miners refused to budge. *And there was nothing Carter could do about it.* The solidarity of the miners, their determination that no contract meant no work, and the support they inspired among all workers became a higher law than all the courts, labor boards, and injunctions arrayed against them.

'Close the gates'

The Newport News Steelworkers are writing a new chapter on the same theme.

"I was never more proud of your union and my union than when we made the decision to 'close the gates,'" USWA Organizing Director Elmer Chatak told 1,000 steelworkers at the union's recent civil rights conference in Pittsburgh.

"The normal course in this situation—and it is the employers' battleground—is to follow the legal route. And hope and pray that somewhere down the road you'll be officially certified. But even then that's not the end of the road. Then they back you to the wall until you don't have any strength left."

Reliance on any goodwill from the courts or NLRB, as Chatak described so well, leads to defeat. Victory for the Steelworkers lies down a different road, one they have already embarked upon.

Their road starts with the strikers' chant, "Close the gates!" and is marked by mass picket lines, steadfast unity between Black and white strikers, getting out the truth through strike bulletins, organizing in strike committees, mobilizing allies in the Spouses Auxiliary, joining with union brothers and sisters in marches and rallies down the streets of Newport News.

It's a road the Steelworkers do not have to travel alone, left to the mercy of lawyers and judges. Unionists across the country can help push the gates closed by demonstrating their solidarity in resolutions, plant-gate collections, caravans, and rallies.

The shipyard strikers have time and again proven their willingness to follow through on this course. If they receive the necessary support, they can win union recognition and a union contract long before the NLRB hands down its verdict. And like the miners, they can set an unforgettable example of how to break through the legal barriers standing in the path of labor's rights.

Further reading on—

Labor history

and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$6.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$3.95

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Bureaucracy 256 pp., paper \$4.45

The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for Working People by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 40 pp., \$75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Stop the repression!

Colombia: Trotskyist leader in danger

By David Frankel

Colombian socialists have issued an urgent appeal for international protests to ensure the safety of Libardo González.

González, a professor at the Free University of Bogotá and a leader of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party), was seized by a unit of the Colombian secret police who broke into his house early on the morning of March 29.

He has been held incommunicado since his arrest, and there is reason to believe that he is being tortured. Another socialist, Gloria Stella Gallego, of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), is also being held by the regime.

In an especially ominous move, the March 31 issue of *El Tiempo*, the country's main capitalist daily, accused González of having been

involved in the killing of Rafael Pardo Buelvas, a former cabinet minister, in September 1978.

Faced with a deep economic and political crisis, President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala used the assassination of Pardo Buelvas as a pretext to unleash a reign of terror against the labor movement and the left.

Torture of the government's political opponents has become so commonplace that the regime itself has been forced to admit to a few supposedly exceptional instances.

González was deeply involved in the struggle against the government's repression. He was elected as a delegate of the Union of Professors of the Free University to the Forum for Democracy held in Bogotá March 30-31. Although González's arrest prevented him from attending, 1,500 other delegates and several hundred observers did turn out to protest

repression in Colombia and organize to oppose it.

The Turbay Ayala regime is apparently seeking to tie González and the Trotskyist movement as a whole to the assassination of Pardo Buelvas, which was carried out by a group calling itself the Movimiento de Autodefensa Obrera (MAO—Movement of Workers Self-Defense).

Quoting "sources close to the investigation," *El Tiempo* claimed the MAO is "a group of Trotskyist orientation," and presented a completely fabricated account designed to link the MAO to the Fourth International.

In a joint statement, the PSR and the PST—the two groups in Colombia who support the Fourth International—declared, "We have nothing to do with terrorist groups nor with the MAO."

The PSR and PST had condemned the assassination at the time, saying,

"The activity of our organizations is carried out before the eyes of the world—we participate in elections, we have a legal newspaper and headquarters open to the public."

As the PSR noted in a March 29 news release on the arrest of González, the real terrorists are the government and its secret police, which "are trying to destroy the most basic democratic rights of Colombians."

Emergency telegrams demanding the release of González and Gloria Stella Gallego should be sent to the Colombian Embassy, 2118 Leroy Place NW, Washington D.C.; or to Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, Presidente de Colombia, Palacio de San Carlos, Bogotá, Colombia.

Copies should be sent to the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

South African freedom fighter executed

By Ernest Harsch

Solomon Mahlangu, a twenty-three-year-old Black freedom fighter, was murdered by the white supremacist regime of South Africa April 6. A government spokesman said that he was hanged shortly after dawn, at Pretoria Central Prison.

The South African mission to the United Nations claimed that Mahlangu had been "found guilty of a criminal offense and was not convicted on political grounds."

But Mahlangu was executed for political reasons. His "crime"—like that of many other young Blacks sitting in South African jails today—was to fight for the liberation of the oppressed Black majority, to struggle for an end to the racist system of apartheid.

Mahlangu became politically active in 1976, during the massive Black uprisings in Soweto and other South African townships. He helped organize student activists in Mamelodi, a township outside of Pretoria.

During his trial, he explained that he then joined the outlawed African National Congress and left the country for military training, returning in mid-1977 with two others. They were soon discovered, and during a shootout in Johannesburg, two whites were killed. Mahlangu testified that he himself had not fired the fatal shots, a fact that the judge acknowledged. He was sentenced to death anyway.

In his testimony, Mahlangu also revealed that he had been severely beaten while in police detention and that the police forced him to make a false incriminating statement. One of his comrades, Mondy Johannes Motlaung, was even more severely beaten, suffering brain damage so extensive that he was declared unfit to stand trial.

This treatment did not dampen Mahlangu's spirit of resistance, however. After he was sentenced to death in March 1978, he turned to the packed courtroom, gave a

clenched-fist salute, and shouted "Amandla!" (power).

Although many Black activists have been killed by the regime—in the streets or in jail cells—Mahlangu's murder is the first judicially sanctioned execution of a political prisoner in a number of years.

It could be the opening move in a government bid to send other Black activists to the gallows as well.

International protests against Mahlangu's execution and for the release of all South African political prisoners could help save their lives. From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Protest in Amsterdam against execution of Solomon Mahlangu

...Militant sales

Continued from page 7

Young Socialist and *Perspectiva Mundial* that day at a demonstration of 1,600.

Gary and Chicago socialists sold ninety papers that day to 300 antinuke protesters.

Interest in the supplement also ran very high at plant-gate and on-the-job sales. A total of 845 papers were reported sold this way.

Many areas organized many more than their usual number of plant-gate sales and also sold many more than their usual number of papers at their regular spots. Morgantown, West Virginia, socialists, for example, sold more than 100 papers at mine portals—double their usual weekly tally.

Along with the results for issue 13 and the supplement, we're also publishing here the first cumulative scoreboard in this spring's ten-week drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

It's clear that the special supplement has been a real boost to the drive.

Some branches report that they're already considering increases in their cumulative goals.

But our supplement sales also spotlight the big opportunities we have every week remaining in the circulation drive.

Philadelphia SWP organizer Jay Johnson put it this way. "Supplement sales helped us view sales more politically than in the past. We used to think of sales too organizationally. But the supplement showed us how we can use the *Militant* to put forward our political perspective on what needs to be done."

Mike Pearlman organizes sales in Boston, another branch that did exceptionally well last week. He also concluded that the supplement sales will help Boston maintain better sales for the rest of the drive. "We've seen how we can go out and sell the *Militant* because people are interested in politics," Pearlman said. "Not only about nukes but everything else that's in the paper."

This sentiment is running high in the San Francisco branch also, reports Louise Armstrong, the SWP organizer there. San Francisco made dramatic progress with its supplement sales.

The circulation drive in every area can take big steps forward if we build on the enthusiasm and achievements of the past week.

And that will mean big steps forward toward winning the industrial working class to the socialist program for putting an end to capitalism's nuclear nightmare once and for all.

—NEW FROM PATHFINDER—

Leon Trotsky On France

In 1934, French society was entering a period of intense crisis. Fascism had triumphed the year before in Germany and was becoming a threat in France as well. What could the French workers do to avoid the fate of the German workers?

The French Communist and Socialist parties answered this question with the strategy of the People's Front. This was based on subordinating the workers movement to the building of coalitions with the liberal bourgeoisie, in this case represented by the Radical Party.

This book contains Trotsky's answer to the proponents of the People's Front. Included here are his major public writings on French political life from this period. They begin with "Whither France?" written in October 1934—when the French CP took its first formal steps toward a coalition with the Radicals—and end with an article written in July 1939, shortly before the start of World War II and the collapse of the Third Republic. 263 pages, \$4.45

Leon Trotsky
On France



Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage.

'Nation' blasts court ruling in SWP suit

The April 7 issue of the 'Nation' magazine contained an editorial on the recent court of appeals decision overturning Judge Thomas Griesa's contempt citation against Attorney General Bell. Bell was cited for contempt after refusing to turn over eighteen FBI informer files to lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party in the party's suit against the FBI and other government spy agencies.

The 'Nation' editorial was written by Aryeh Neier, a member of the 'Nation's' editorial board and a prominent civil libertarian. Following are excerpts.

First, the good news. A United States Court of Appeals has just "unequivocally affirm[ed] the principle" that the Attorney General of the United States is not above the law. Now, the bad news. The court doesn't mean it.

The court made plain its disregard for its own rhetoric by overturning a contempt order against Attorney General Griffin Bell that had been issued last June 30 by Federal Judge Thomas P. Griesa. The judge cited the Attorney General for contempt because he had engaged in a "totally unjustified attempt to obstruct" justice by disobeying a court order to turn over to lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party files on eighteen of more than 1,300 "informants" the F.B.I. had employed between 1960 and 1976 to spy on and disrupt the party.

The Socialist Workers Party is a small organization, and it is, as the Government now concedes, law-abiding. By contrast, the Government has been anything but law-abiding in its treatment of the Socialist Workers Party. For forty years, the F.B.I. has attempted to destroy it by tapping its telephones illegally, intercepting its mail, burglarizing its offices, not protecting it against bombings the Bureau knew about in advance and playing "dirty tricks" on it.

A good deal of this was exposed during the court proceedings that started in 1973 when the party filed suit against the Government seeking an end to spying and disruption and asking for compensation for the damages it had suffered.

The F.B.I.'s dirty work was done by the 1,300 "informants," a euphemism, as we now know, that often masks much uglier behavior. Exactly what these informants did to the party is not

publicly known but Judge Griesa, who has reviewed the eighteen representative files he wants turned over to the party's lawyers, says that they contain "the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants, the instructions by the F.B.I. to the informants, and the F.B.I.'s evaluation of informant activities."

It is evidence the S.W.P.'s lawyers need to devise an order that will protect the party against any continuation of these activities and to demonstrate how much the Government should pay to compensate it for the injuries it suffered.

Even if they got the eighteen files, the party's lawyers would operate under a handicap because the great

majority of files would still be withheld and because Judge Griesa deferred to the Government's fear that informants would face retaliation, and prohibited the lawyers from discussing the files with their clients.

To overturn Judge Griesa's citation of Attorney General Bell for contempt, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit—Judges Lumbard, Friendly and Oaks—had to do some pretty fancy footwork.

In October 1977, the same court had ruled that Judge Griesa's order to turn over the files was within his powers and, in March 1978, had denied the Government's request for a rehearing. On June 12, 1978, the Supreme Court turned down the Government's effort to get it to review Judge Griesa's order.

Then, on June 13, Attorney General Bell threw down the gauntlet and announced that he was assuming personal responsibility for defying Judge Griesa's order and that he wanted a review of the order by the courts.

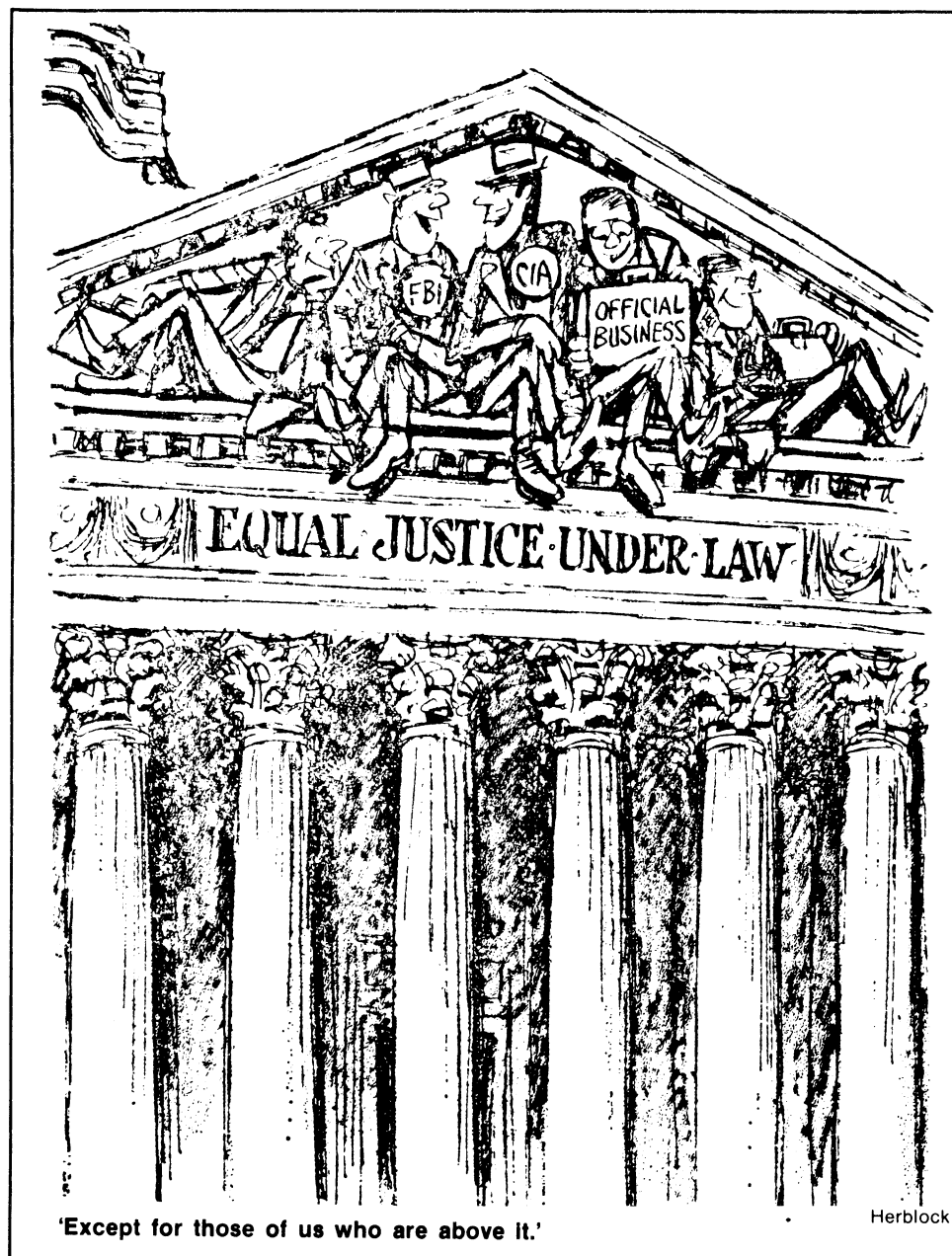
It was an astonishing assertion, and it should have made not the slightest difference legally because Bell, as the boss of the F.B.I., was already a defendant in the suit. The previous appeals had been brought in his behalf, and he was responsible in any case for complying with the court order.

Even so, it worked. Stuck with its own earlier decisions, the United States Court of Appeals ruled on March 19 that Judge Griesa had the power to order Bell to turn over the files but—and here is the fancy stuff—that Griesa had abused his discretion when he cited Bell for contempt for defying that order. "Alternative sanctions" should have been considered, it said.

It is just a few years, of course, since a President was forced from office for withholding information about illegal wiretappings against another political party. An Attorney General and several other high officials went to prison for their parts in that affair, even though the intrusions on the rights of Democrats and other enemies of Richard Nixon were bush league compared to what the F.B.I. did to the Socialist Workers Party. Why then should Griffin Bell be able to get away with defying a Federal court when Nixon et al. could not do so?

Of several possible answers, the most plausible one is the identity of the victims. A *New York Times* editorial on March 24 encapsulated the low level of outrage that is aroused by depredations against the rights of people such as those in the Socialist Workers Party: "We never thought he [the Attorney General] would or should be remanded to the custody of his own Bureau of Prisons for contempt of court, even though we agreed with Federal Judge Thomas Griesa that the files should be turned over."

That's just how the Court of Appeals saw it: Even if Judge Griesa is right, the Attorney General shouldn't be held in contempt for defying him. The legal principle that emerges is less than resounding. It goes something like this: An Attorney General is not above the law, except in cases involving groups like the Socialist Workers Party.



Hansen publishing fund passes \$20,000 goal

The Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund has achieved and surpassed its goal.

George Novack and Reba Hansen—chairperson and treasurer respectively of the fund—have announced that as of April 5, contributions and pledges received totaled \$22,906. The fund had set a goal of raising \$20,000 by March 31. Donations are continuing to come in from Trotskyists and other supporters around the world.

A \$950 contribution from Socialist Workers Party members in the northern Minnesota Iron Range, a contribution of \$400 from Britain, and a \$500 contribution from Nahuel Moreno on behalf of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party put the fund over the top.

Hansen, who died January 18, was editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* since its inception in 1963. The money collected will be used to begin publication of some of his major writings in book form.

The first volume in the series will contain articles by Hansen on revolutionary strategy in Latin America.

Later volumes will include his writings on the overturn of capitalism in Eastern Europe following World War II, revolutionary strategy for the world Trotskyist movement, and such varied topics as the Malthus theory of population explosion, the American forms of fascism, whether a new world war is inevitable, and the place of freedom for scientific investigation in the Soviet Union.

Sponsors of the fund include the contributing editors of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, leaders of the Trotskyist movement in many countries, and many other internationally known persons.

Among those who have recently added their names to the list are George Fyson and Russell Johnson, leaders of the Socialist Action League of New Zealand; George Lavan Weissman, editor of *Monad Press* and a longtime leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party; and Michel Pablo, leader of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency.

The fund was launched at a New York meeting on January 28, where 550 persons gathered to pay tribute to

Hansen. That meeting raised an initial \$8,000.

Since then, meetings held in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cleveland, Louisville, New Orleans, Seattle, San Diego, and Detroit, and in countries around the world have brought in sizable contributions.

The Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International, organized a meeting in Baroda on March 14 to pay tribute to Joseph Hansen. Correspondent Jagdish Parikh wrote that fifty persons, including workers, students, and other activists, attended the meeting, and donated fifty dollars. He added, "Many workers and employees have contributed their one-day payment." A committee of six persons was formed to raise additional funds for the purpose of publishing Hansen's works in Hindi.

Although the target date for the fund has passed, further contributions—and outstanding pledges, which total \$6,915—are still welcome and may be sent to Joseph Hansen Publishing Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

\$81,000 for Militant fund

We are happy to report that since the closing date of the *Militant* Fiftieth Anniversary Fund Drive—launched in 1978 to celebrate our fifty years of publication—more than \$5,000 in additional donations has come in, bringing the total amount raised to more than \$81,000. This is the largest single amount ever raised for the *Militant*.

The original goal was to raise \$75,000 to help with our increased expenditures. But our readers—inspired no doubt by our eyewitness coverage of events in Iran and Newport News, Virginia, by our socialist analysis of the Indochina wars, and our antinuclear features—chipped in a good bit more after the drive ended.

How we lost the 40-hour week

Forced overtime & the fight for a shorter workweek

By Frank Lovell

(first of a series)

One of the most galling of all the unresolved grievances that industrial workers have against their employers is forced overtime, long hours of work every day, often including an eight-hour shift on Saturday. There are no signs anywhere that employers are willing to restore the forty-hour workweek. Under present economic and political conditions they are pushing ahead to extend the working day in every way possible.

In some industries this adds up to a regular fifty-eight-hour week (ten hours for five days and eight on Saturday). Some weeks it is extended to sixty or more hours by including an occasional twelve-hour day or scheduling ten hours on Saturdays.

Data on long hours and premium pay, collected once a year by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, show a steady increase in the number of workers on overtime since 1975. In May 1978 (the latest available data), 27.3 percent of all full-time employees worked forty-one hours or more in a week. That is about 19 million workers, up by 800,000 from the previous year.

These figures include salaried employees—supervisors, professionals, technical workers, managers, and administrators—along with hourly wage workers. For some reason the report covers only full-time workers. A survey of casual and part-time workers would probably show that a higher percentage in these categories is forced to work long days.

A breakdown shows that unorganized workers are more likely than union members to work more than forty hours per week.

Most hourly wage earners collect premium pay for overtime work, but not all of them—even though they are entitled to it under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Two-thirds of union members on overtime receive premium pay, compared to only 35.8 percent of nonunion workers.

The Labor Department also gives a breakdown of the figures by occupational group. In the skilled trades more than 3 million workers, 30.6 percent of all full-timers, worked overtime. Only 65.2 percent received premium pay.

In the category of "blue collar operatives, except transport," 23.7 percent were on overtime and 85.1 percent of them collected time-and-a-half after forty hours. Twenty percent of "laborers, except farm," worked overtime and 73.3 percent collected premium pay. These two categories take in the bulk of workers in heavy industry, most of whom are union members.

More than half of all full-time farm workers, nearly half a million, work more than forty-one hours a week. But of these only 7.6 percent collect overtime pay. Farm workers are not protected by law.

'Right to work' state

Statistics cannot reveal how the lives of workers are affected. A visit with some victims of overtime can. The Sun Belt is a good place to start.

Florida is a "right to work" state where most industrial workers are unorganized, wages are far below the national average, and overtime work is the rule rather than the exception.

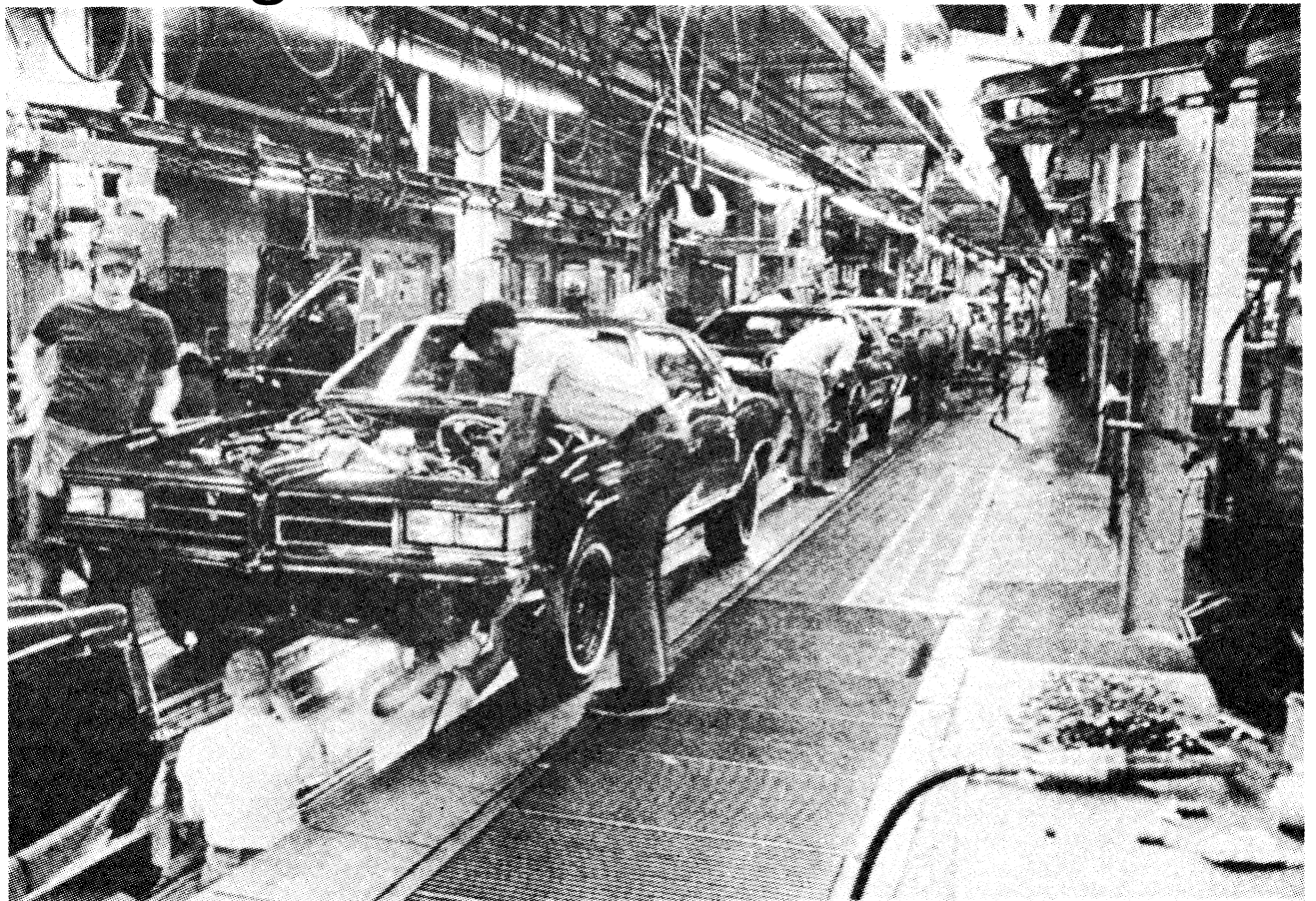
A large share of Florida industry is in the Miami area, consisting of small shops that manufacture shoes, furniture, doors, metal fixtures, small machine parts, and sundry industrial items. Most of these shops employ fewer than 100 workers.

Some are organized by a catch-all local of the Teamsters union, but wages range from \$3.50 an hour for unskilled labor to \$5.50 for skilled maintenance mechanics. Even where the union is recognized, many workers do not belong because there are few tangible advantages and no closed shop agreements.

Most workers in this area put in a six-day week when they can, in hopes of keeping up with the cost of living. All members of a family are forced to find work if possible and in small-shop industry it is common to find several members of a family in one shop. Their lives revolve around the workplace because they have little time for a life outside. They are not very different in this respect from chattel slaves, and no more satisfied with their lot.

Over the road

In the transportation industry the big trucking firms have found a new way to chain the worker-family to the job. How this works is described by a young couple driving out of Cincinnati, Ohio.



In many auto plants, fifty-eight-hour week has become normal

They are a husband-wife team. Both learned over the-road driving at a trucking school. Unable to find work they were induced to become "owner-operators." This cost them \$15,000 to get started, all they could scrape together from a small inheritance and some loans.

Their operating expenses are more than \$200 monthly, sometimes \$1,000. They manage to survive financially because they drive in shifts and make more mileage quicker (there is a 450-mile daily limit for each driver), and they get some tax advantages as owners that workers don't get. Otherwise they would not be able to clear the average wages of union truck drivers.

Their home is the cab of their truck. Most of their time is spent hauling freight and taking care of their investment. They can become members of the Teamsters union, but their schedule prevents them from attending union meetings.

They find it hard to estimate their hours of actual work because both are always on the job. But they know that each of them puts in more than sixty hours a week at the wheel or on maintenance. They are beginning to think of themselves as indentured servants.

On the line

A young woman in New Jersey recently got a steady job in a big auto assembly plant after working there part-time for a few months. As a part-time worker she was on a ten-hour daily schedule and usually got two or three days a week.

One of the reasons the company hires part-time workers is the high absenteeism among full-timers. After she got hired for steady work she understood why there was so much absenteeism.

Her work schedule is ten hours a day, six days a week. Driving time from where she lives to the plant is about half an hour. She clocks in at 4:00 p.m., gets a half-hour lunch break during the shift, and returns home at 3:30 a.m. if she's lucky. About twelve hours every day except Sunday is spent on the job and going and coming from work. That leaves few daylight hours for anything but sleep.

This overworked worker knows she is a wage earner because every week she gets a check that tells her she earned lots of money. But a third or more of her gross earnings are taken away in taxes. She wonders about the meaning of "free labor under the free enterprise system" and dreams of a day off.

If she is absent too many days she will be fired, and another part-timer will move up to replace her on the steady grind.

Robbed of health, leisure

One of the results of overtime work is the terrible health hazard it creates. On-the-job accidents increase with extension of the working day. Mishaps and car accidents in traveling to and from work become more common. The physical stamina of many workers breaks down under the strain.

There is another, even worse, consequence. The extension of the working day robs workers of their leisure, denies them the opportunity to develop their individual talents and intellectual capabilities. It restricts their participation in unions and other working-class organizations, and reduces them to the status of machines. Like machines, the workers are to be used by the employers as steadily and as long as possible until they wear out and are discarded.

There is only one reason for this callous disregard of human needs by employers large and small in all branches of industry: profit. The most direct way to increase profit is to extend the working day and reduce the socially accepted living standard of the working class.

It is more profitable to hire fewer workers and keep them on the job until they drop than to hire more workers. Even when the employer is forced to pay premium wages for overtime, as in the auto industry, it is still cheaper than expanding the work force and paying the additional insurance premiums, health-care costs, and other operating expenses that this entails.

Effect on wages

Overtime profits the employers in another way. As the fifty- and sixty-hour week becomes standard for big groups of workers (and 84 percent of those who worked sixty hours or more report they *usually* work overtime), the long-term effect is to depress hourly wages. Workers find that to pay for food, rent, and other necessities that used to be covered by forty hours' wages, it now takes fifty or sixty. Even with overtime premium pay the weekly income of the working-class family slips further behind inflated prices.

The contrast between long hours of overtime inside the plants and long lines of unemployed outside—so irrational to the workers—is ideal for the employers. The threat of joblessness acts as another whip to discipline the employed and force them to live on less.

In the struggle between the employing class to expand profits and the working class to retain its meager share of the goods it produces, the length of the working day is a central issue. It is closely tied to the problem of unemployment and the "jobs for all" demand of the union movement.

It is also part of the "battle against inflation," which is understood differently by workers and bosses. The workers want to battle to bring down prices and raise wages. The bosses and the Carter administration seek to freeze wages and raise prices more or less gradually.

All these struggles revolve around the acceptance of what is "a normal working day" more than is generally recognized.

(next: history of the fight for a shorter workweek)

KKK, cop indicted for anti-Black assaults

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—A federal grand jury indicted twenty Ku Klux Klan terrorists here April 4 on several charges related to violations of civil rights laws.

At the same time that Klansmen were being arraigned at the federal courthouse, some 400 Blacks were marching outside to mark the eleventh anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The twenty Klansmen are all members of Klan Chapter 1015 in Talledega County, east of Birmingham. Among them is a cop, a member of the Childersburg Police Department. The mainly rural county has been the scene of a wave of Klan terrorism in recent months.

The charges stem in part from the shooting up of the homes of two NAACP leaders. The two had spoken out against police brutality and had sought to get Blacks hired by local police and fire departments.

Some of the Klansmen are charged with shooting into a home occupied by two white women and two Black men. A third incident involved impersonating an FBI agent in order to "arrest" and beat a white man, reportedly because he wasn't properly providing for his family.

Three of the KKKers already face state charges for abducting and beating a white woman. On January 18, masked and armed racists dragged Patricia Benson from her home in the

"mill village" section of Sylacauga. They took her to the woods, where they tore her clothes off, tied her to a tree, and bullwhipped her. She may bear the scars for the rest of her life.

This was apparently in retaliation for the fact that Benson, who was once married to a Black man, had that day eaten with some of her Black co-workers at the cotton mill where she is employed.

In addition to the charges against the Talledega Klansmen, the grand jury also indicted Bill Wayne McGlocklin, a Klan leader from Decatur, on two counts of possessing a weapon after being convicted of a felony. McGlocklin was convicted of breaking and entering in 1962.

Decatur has seen an upsurge of Klan activity aimed primarily at intimidating supporters of Tommy Lee Hines. Hines, a retarded Black man now serving a prison sentence on one frame-up rape conviction, will stand trial here on further charges.

Word of the indictments had not reached the April 4 demonstration, led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which included a rally on the steps of city hall. But Dr. Joseph Lowery, national SCLC president, told the press that the "Klan has been terrorizing in north Alabama" and urged additional federal action to put a stop to it.

That same day the U.S. attorney announced he was dropping a case in which the Klan kidnapped and beat a



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Small group of Klan members and cops stood across street from demonstration of 400 Blacks in Birmingham April 4.

Ala. Blacks: 'We want jobs'

"We want to send a message to the Supreme Court on the *Weber* case," Dr. Joseph Lowery, SCLC national president, told the 400 demonstrators assembled at Birmingham's city hall.

In addition to calling for making Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday an official city holiday, the marchers also focused their demands on jobs.

"The Bakke and Weber mentality says we're moving too fast," Lowery stated. But the figures show that the percentage of income Blacks receive compared to white has actually slipped from a high of 60.8 to 58

percent, he told the rally.

"They say we can't be promoted because we don't have seniority. But they wouldn't let us in," Lowery said. "That's like keeping a man out in the rain all night, then telling him you won't let him in the house because his feet are wet."

Lowery stated that Black unemployment is four times that of whites.

"We want jobs!" Lowery exclaimed. The demand was immediately taken up by the overwhelmingly youthful Black demonstrators: "We want jobs! We want jobs! We want jobs!" —N.B.

Black minister. The minister had been active in support of Tommy Lee Hines during the trial in which he was railroaded to prison.

During the SCLC rally, a small group of KKKers stood in a row across the street. They had been escorted in from a side street after the rally got under way by a large contingent of city policemen, who surrounded them throughout the rally.

Some of the cops occasionally exchanged friendly smiles and comments with the hooded racists. The Klan members and their cop escorts then marched away before the rally concluded.

Claiming to be from a different Klan faction than any of those indicted, the KKKers said they were protesting the demand to make Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday.

"I've got news for the Klan," Dr. Abraham Woods, president of Birmingham SCLC, told the rally. "The Klan is not going to turn us around."

Noting that one of the indicted Klansmen is a policeman, Dr. Lowery told the media, "It is a serious matter when law enforcement officers sworn to uphold the law are members of an unlawful, terroristic organization like the Klan."

Two days earlier the Birmingham *Post-Herald* had featured reports indicating there are many Klan members or sympathizers among police in northern Alabama. The Gasden police chief admitted to one reporter that eleven of his cops are in the KKK, although he later denied it.

Bill Wilkinson, commander of the Invisible Empire, the main Klan faction in northern Alabama, claims widespread membership among cops. He mentioned the Decatur police force, the Alabama State Patrol, and sheriff's deputies in some counties.

Wilkinson's Klan publicly boasts of being heavily armed with Thompson machine guns and sawed-off shotguns. Last month twenty-three robed Klansmen, including Wilkinson, appeared at a Decatur City Council meeting to protest an ordinance restricting the display of guns at public demonstrations.

Rev. R.B. Cottonreader, SCLC project director in Decatur, told the press that the ordinance had not yet been effective since it was not being enforced against the Klan. Dozens of armed Klansmen have paraded through the streets without being arrested.

Black steelworker cites job bias at Kaiser

By Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS—One of the myths being pushed in the *Weber* "reverse discrimination" case now before the U.S. Supreme Court is that Kaiser Aluminum never discriminated against Black workers.

It was on that basis that two lower federal courts outlawed the affirmative-action plan negotiated in 1974 by the United Steelworkers of America.

Charles Pittman is in a position to know Kaiser's real record. Pittman has worked since 1959 at Kaiser's plant in Gramercy, Louisiana—the same plant at which Brian Weber launched his assault on affirmative action. Pittman served for twelve years on the grievance committee of USWA Local 5702.

Pittman was one of the speakers at a March 24 anti-*Weber* protest organized by the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action (CWODA).

"Back in the '60s there was a layoff, which mostly affected Black workers," he told the seventy people who had come to picket at the federal court house. "Some white workers were laid off too. But when those workers were called back they were given badge numbers with greater seniority, where-

as the Black workers who were taken back were given lower numbers than when they were laid off.

"The company," Pittman went on to say, "discriminated within the contract, turning it around so that I—as a Black grievance committee person—had to tell two Black workers who came to me with charges of discrimination that they had no case. The company knew how to use the contract."

When Pittman was hired the only job Kaiser would give him was as a janitor. Over the past twenty years he has seen qualified Blacks passed over for jobs. He has seen separate seniority numbers maintained for Black workers in order to keep them out of better jobs at the plant.

Brian Weber and his supporters never opened their mouths to object to this pervasive anti-Black discrimination. But as soon as the union won an affirmative-action program to begin to partially compensate Blacks and women for past injustice, Weber discovered it was "discrimination" against white males.

Joining Pittman at the March 24 protest were members of the National Organization for Women, NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, United Steelworkers, United

Teachers of New Orleans, and others.

New Orleans anti-*Weber* activists picketed the federal building again March 28. This protest was cosponsored by CWODA and SCLC. SCLC President Joseph Lowery pledged continued support in the anti-*Weber* fight.

In another little-publicized development, it has been revealed that Weber discussed his case with U.S. District Court Judge Jack Gordon before the trial at which Gordon ruled in Weber's

favor.

The March 19 *New Orleans States-Item* reported that "Weber used one of his days off to visit Judge Gordon" and that "Gordon listened to Weber's explanation of his grievance in his private chambers."

According to *States-Item* reporter Allan Katz, "The judge said he would ask an attorney to look into Weber's complaint to see if there was a basis for a lawsuit."

Unions vs. 'Weber'

The threat posed by the *Weber* case—a threat against Black rights, women's rights, and union rights—is becoming widely recognized throughout the labor movement.

The March 31 *AFL-CIO News* includes a long front-page article on the case and the AFL-CIO's opposition to *Weber*. It emphasizes the fact that the affirmative-action plan at Kaiser benefited both Black and white workers.

The March 5 issue of *Solidarity*, magazine of the United Auto Workers, reports "UAW Backs Affirmative Action In Key Supreme Court Test." It points to the virtual

exclusion of Blacks from skilled jobs at Kaiser before the affirmative-action plan and explains why the UAW filed a court brief against *Weber*.

Meanwhile, the Illinois Federation of Teachers passed an anti-*Weber* resolution at its state convention March 23-25.

The resolution voiced "support for the right of any union to negotiate affirmative-action programs, including goals and timetables, in union contracts." It also pledged "active support to the USWA in its fight to defeat *Weber*."



HARRISBURG —

By Nancy Cole

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—More than 100 area residents trooped into Middletown Borough Hall April 7 for a "town meeting."

Several weeks before the March 28 nuclear disaster hit, U.S. Rep. Allen Ertel, a Democrat, had scheduled the meeting. He was supposedly going to hear his constituents' opinions on a variety of issues.

But there was only one issue anyone wanted to talk about on April 7.

The townspeople sat in chairs that reporters from around the world had used all week to listen to briefings by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Only now there was no pile of microphones at the speakers' podium, no constant flashing of cameras, no jockeying for position by an army of TV crews.

There were several reporters, a couple of local TV crews, and a cross-section of the population affected by the nuclear catastrophe: industrial workers, older retired residents, pregnant women, small shop owners.

Just the day before, Ertel and Republican Robert Walker, U.S. representative from a nearby district, had made a bipartisan defense of nuclear power at a joint news conference in Harrisburg.

Ertel told reporters he wanted to "hedge" the question of the Three Mile Island accident for the time being. But that wasn't so easy before an audience of Middletown residents.

The meeting started calmly enough. People had questions—questions that Ertel could easily have anticipated and with the resources of his office quickly found the answers to. But he hadn't bothered.

He didn't know if there was an office of Metropolitan Edison's insurance company in Middletown. He didn't even know the name of the insurance company, which has been doling out evacuation reimbursements with an eyedropper.

He didn't know if people would ever get reimbursed for wages lost during the disaster. He didn't know if free medical tests would be provided area residents.

Tension grows

With each muddled "answer," the tension in the room grew.

"I heard a rumor that Met Ed customers are going to have to pay for the plant cleanup," said an older man. "Why should the customers protect the stockholders of Met Ed?"

This provoked a rumble in the audience. "We'd like some answers on that," a woman yelled out.

"The issue is not settled that customers will pick up the tab," Ertel offered.

"I've already written you a letter about this," one woman began. "If this goes through, and we have to pay for it on our utility bills, how will we fight it?"

Ertel responded: "The PUC [Pennsylvania Utilities Commission] con-

trols the rates. They may not let it go through."

"They will," came the disgusted comment.

It's like surviving the sinking *Titanic*, a woman explained. "We survive it and they send us a bill for pulling it out of the ocean."

"Why aren't we hearing more from Met Ed?" someone asked. "Have they put the lid on information?"

"I'd have to make a guess on that," Ertel answered. "I guess they're letting the Nuclear Regulatory Commission make the decisions. [NRC chief of operations] Harold Denton has pretty good credibility—people have confidence in him. They don't want to get into any more discrepancies. I agree with that."

"How about every time that thing blows [radioactive] steam?" asked another resident. "Why can't they get on the radio and let people know about it? My sister works on the island. The first time I heard about the accident was when she went to work."

"We're trying to get a communications system in place," replied Ertel, referring to his sole proposal since the accident: a more sophisticated telephone network in the area.

Would never have known

The man in the audience continued, "If they hadn't called in the NRC, we never would have known about the accident. They screwed up a couple of

weeks ago, and we never heard about it."

"You've got to distinguish between types of events," Ertel said. "Some things are important and some things are not."

Why aren't people being told the long-term effects of radiation? Ertel replied at length about the "different opinions" among scientists as to what is a carcinogen and what is not.

But nobody disputes the fact that radiation causes cancer.

"You're our congressman, you represent us, and we expect action," declared a man who lives directly across from the nuclear plant.

"Most people in this room are mad," said a young woman. "We're mad as hell, and we're not going to take it any more. We think Three Mile Island should be closed down for good!" The room broke out in applause.

"What'd she say?" someone from the back of the room called out.

Deadpan, Ertel responded, "She said she thinks the plant should be shut down." More applause followed.

"I believe it should be shut down," began another woman. "I don't believe we know enough about nuclear power." She went on to explain how her home is just 3.5 miles from the plant and now she's afraid she will never be able to sell it.

"No one will want to spend their vacations in this area. What farmer will buy a farm near here? The economy of this area is damaged," she said.

Reporter's notebook

By Nancy Cole

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—No one here will soon forget the nuclear trauma, if only for the simple reason that everywhere you go the monster cooling towers of Three Mile Island are there to remind you.

Miles and miles from the island, you round a bend in the road and there they are, off in the distance.

On the other side of the island from here is Goldsboro. The first glimpse of the small town is startling. From the top of a hill you look down at the center of town, its square with a memorial to the war dead, and then, the towers. Here they aren't small and distant, but ominously close.

For more than a week, Goldsboro was a ghost town. Some of the windows displayed former life—pastel-colored cutouts of Easter bunnies. And one sign tied to a front porch: "Stop Nuclear Energy. Suzy Needs a Clean World."

They say Metropolitan Edison tried to sell the idea of its nuclear plant to the communities surrounding it by offering them a

recreation and picnic area across from the island. Now the "observation center," with its outdoor binoculars trained on the plant, is a macabre monument to what Met Ed didn't tell area residents about nuclear power.

* * *

Driving on the Goldsboro side of the island, the rolling farmlands are already green. The forsythia bushes and daffodils are in bloom. Some of the trees are budding.

But there are no cows grazing. Stopping to snap a photo, we ask a woman about the cows.

The farmers are keeping them inside away from the radiation, she answers. One farmer has already loaded up his cattle and moved them out of the area.

"A lot of others may do the same," she continues. "I'm worried about my garden. They haven't told us what the radiation means for our gardens. This whole thing isn't over yet as far as I'm concerned."

* * *

Two Black women, sisters, tell the *Militant* of their anger about the



Militant photos by Nancy Cole and Arnold Weissberg

Bury Met Ed, not us!

"Don't get excited," Ertel cautioned. "Let's discuss it. Now, when did you buy your home?"

Three years ago, she answered.

You knew it was there

"Well, you bought it knowing the power plant was there," he said.

"But there had never been a catastrophe like this one," she stammered.

"There are power plants all across the country," Ertel said. "You take risks anywhere."

Middletown residents, he went on, live under a flight pattern. "An airplane could drop on you anytime. You have to think of risks."

"We'd like to know your position on the plant," a small businessman demanded to know after nearly an hour at the meeting. "Are you for closing it or are you for corrective measures that would let it open again. That's what I want to know. Yes or no—no more!"

"You want to shut it down without more information?" Ertel threw back after the applause died down.

"I don't need more information," the man angrily replied. "We had a near catastrophe. All of us could be near dead now!"

The most heart-rending remarks came from a woman, who remained seated and began speaking softly. When I go to the grocery store," she said, "I spend a tremendous amount of money on fruits and vegetables and things that are good for my three kids."

She explained how she takes them to the dentist, how she even quit smoking so as not to set a bad example for them. She said she was not particularly concerned with the material things she might lose because of the accident.

"My biggest heartbreak is my children. I'll never be sure there won't be something wrong with them. How could they get away with this?"

'How could they do this?'

"After the years of sacrifice and love, how could they do this to us? I'll never be convinced that they haven't already killed my children."

Where do you live and did you evacuate? Ertel demanded.

We live within five miles of the nuclear plant, and we left, she answered, "but we didn't find out about this until Friday afternoon. My kids had already been outside waiting for the school bus."

"There's no evidence your children got any of this," Ertel coldly replied. He pooh-poohed those who claim dangerous amounts of radiation were absorbed, pointing to the radiation received everytime someone gets an X ray.

"But nobody gets their mouth X rayed for twenty-four hours at a time," she objected.

You have to take risks, he said. "It's like when you go to a street corner and you stop and watch. There's always the risk that you may get hit by a

truck."

The meeting was scheduled to end at 2:30 p.m. and at precisely that moment Ertel announced he had to be off for another meeting.

Afterwards people expressed their disappointment and anger at Ertel's performance.

"He hasn't said where he stands on anything. He hasn't said what he intends to do about anything," one man told the *Militant*.

"People here are hanging out on a limb," Bruce MacCormack said. "Looks like we're the only losers any way you hack it. The government

better do something."

Both Bruce MacCormack and his wife work at the nearby Hershey Foods plant. "If they put it on the people, I think the people are just going to refuse to pay their light bills," said Shirley MacCormack.

"We should get some concrete guarantees from the government as to what's going on down at Three Mile Island, as to our financial losses, health losses, and everything else," he added.

"Let's face it, they're the ones who pushed to have nuclear power plants put around here."

2,000 rally on state capitol steps

By Arnold Weissberg

HARRISBURG, Pa.—In a dramatic show of anger, 2,000 area residents demonstrated on the steps of the state capitol here April 8 to demand permanently shutting the crippled Three Mile Island nuclear power plant.

The demonstration was sponsored by Three Mile Island Alert (TMIA).

Demonstrators also demanded that "we do not pay for Met Ed's [Metropolitan Edison, the operator of Three Mile Island] mistakes." Met Ed has threatened to seek a \$7.50 monthly boost in each customer's electric bill to pay for the disaster.

Speakers and participants also called for shutting down all nuclear power plants.

It was an authentic community outpouring. Children of all ages, grandparents, young couples, and pregnant women filled the wide steps. Homemade signs were everywhere.

A steelworker from the big Bethlehem plant in nearby Steelton, wearing a blue-and-white United Steelworkers hat, said he recognized at least a dozen or more co-workers.

"I'm angry," Newberry Township Commissioner Bruce Smith told the rally. "I'm angry with Met Ed, I'm angry with the state and federal government, and most of all, I'm angry with myself for not recognizing the potential danger in the midst of our communities."

Smith urged the crowd to "follow the example of Newberry Township and form a Three Mile Island Committee. Organize volunteers in your community, circulate petitions, get involved and get others involved," Smith urged. "Close Three Mile Island forever."

One of the members of the Newberry committee told the *Militant* the group's first action would be to bring in an expert on radiation to explain the possible effects of the Three Mile Island disaster. And there will "definitely" be more rallies, she said.

"Radiation levels have been played

down," Dr. Thomas Winters told a press briefing. Winters, who spoke at the rally, said it was misleading to compare radiation exposure to medical X rays, because X rays last only fractions of a second and are aimed at a small part of the body.

"The problem is definitely not over for the people who live in the immediate area," said Kevin Cassidy. Cassidy, his wife Susan, and their daughter Sabrina live three miles from the plant.

"The problem is not over for people who live in any immediate area of any nuclear power plant," Cassidy went on. "I have a fourteen-month-old baby, and my wife is one month pregnant. Somebody waited two and a half days before they decided it was hazardous to our health."

The name of Gov. Richard Thornburgh was booed when TMIA activist Kay Pickering announced he had turned down an invitation to attend.

The rally was punctuated by local musicians. One of them, Gary Punch, performed a song he had just written. The chorus went: "Goodbye to TMI—and all your lies/TMI. Goodbye, say goodbye to TMI and all their lies." The crowd sang along.

Chairing the rally was William Vastine, TMIA coordinator. Other speakers included Renny Cushing, a founder of the Clamshell Alliance; Dr. Judith Johnsrud, longtime area antinuclear activist; Martha Bush, staff attorney in the Pennsylvania Office of the Consumer Advocate; Jim McGee of Three Mile Island Alert; and German antinuclear activist Burckhard Kretschmann.

Militant sales

HARRISBURG—Protesters here bought 307 copies of the *Militant* headlined, "Act now to stop nuclear power!" In addition, about 1,000 special *Militant* supplements were distributed at the rally.

3: a grim reminder

nuclear chaos. It has cut off income to their families because of plant and nursing home closings, and the unemployment office is telling people to come back next week.

Another sister, they explained, was horribly frightened by the accident and took off for Virginia. "We didn't have the heart to tell her that here's a nuclear plant there, too," says one.

* * *

The energy crisis is much on people's minds here. It was a major reason why most people never questioned the nuclear plant's construction. But that was back when they believed what the utility company and the government told them: that nuclear power was safe.

Now it's a different story. Near the end of an interview with Lavoyne King, who lives several hundred yards from the plant, she said, "No matter what you can say about nuclear power [and she had plenty to say against it], you have to come back to the energy crisis."

"But this energy crisis..." I began. "I know what you're going to say," she interrupted. "You don't know if it's true or not. There again it's the government."



Militant/Nancy Cole

Marroquin vs. U.S. gov't

By Harry Ring

HOUSTON—The hearing on Héctor Marroquin's request for political asylum ended here April 5. At stake is the socialist's very life. If deported to Mexico, he faces imprisonment and possible death.

The target of a political frame-up in Mexico, Marroquin sought refuge in the United States in 1974. Apprehended here without documents, he was jailed for three months.

Despite broad support for his right to political asylum, the Carter administration refused Marroquin's appeal. The Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered him to appear at a deportation hearing.

At his April 3-5 deportation hearing here, Marroquin renewed his asylum appeal. The appeal was heard by INS Judge James Smith.

If Smith rejects asylum, Marroquin will take his case to the Board of Immigration Appeals.

If that is unsuccessful, the case can be appealed to the federal courts.

Jane Roland, coordinator of the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, explained, "If the judge decides this case on its merits, we'll surely win. If he doesn't, the fight to save Héctor Marroquin will continue. If need be, any deportation order will be appealed as far as the Supreme Court."

The U.S. government has never granted political asylum to anyone from Mexico.

To grant Marroquin asylum in the U.S. would constitute an admission by the Carter administration of political repression in Mexico. That repression—aimed at workers, peasants, students, and others—has been backed all along by the U.S. government, which seeks to protect American investments in Mexico.

The trial here also made clear that the U.S. government opposes asylum for Marroquin because he is an active member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Arguing against Marroquin was INS trial attorney Daniel Kahn, a venomous red-baiter who evoked memories of the McCarthy era. He said there is no reason to grant asylum to a socialist like Marroquin. And, besides, he asserted, the present Mexican administration is cleaning up its act.

He called no witnesses and submitted but two pieces of evidence. One was the amnesty law for political prisoners in Mexico enacted last year.

The other was a clipping from the Huntsville, Texas, *Item*. The *Item* quoted the internationally known Mexican rights fighter, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, as saying the situation has improved in Mexico since the government announced an amnesty.

New Tale of Repression

INS hearing said to be trial of Mexico, U.S. Marroquin case tests human rights standards

Witness in deportation trial disputes claim by Mexico of no political prisoners there

Political asylum Judge to decide fate of Mexican Marxist fights deportation

Marroquin attorneys introduce files in attempt to show FBI collaboration

Houston press gave extensive coverage to INS hearing on Marroquin request for political asylum

This was proven false at the hearing by Piedra herself, who appeared as an expert witness for Marroquin. She testified to the continuing repression in Mexico.

She was buttressed by the testimony of Prof. Robert Goldman, who did a recent major study on repression in Mexico for the International League for Human Rights.

There were other witnesses in Marroquin's behalf.

His wife, Maria, confirmed that he fled Mexico only after lawyers insisted he could not get a fair trial on the trumped-up charge that he "conspired" to kill a school librarian.

Delia Duarte de Ramirez described how her entire family fell victim to Mexican cop terror.

Sister Victoria Zuñiga appeared as a character witness for Marroquin. She is a member of Hermanas, an organization of Hispanic nuns, and an activist in the Marroquin defense committee.

Roger Rudenstein, executive secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, testified about documents implicating the FBI in the Marroquin frame-up.

Both Goldman and Piedra testified

that the Mexican amnesty law in no way assures Marroquin's safety if he were compelled to return.

The dean-designate of the American University Law School, Goldman has served on a number of international commissions investigating human rights.

As a representative of the prestigious International League for Human Rights, he was permitted to interview more than 100 political prisoners there.

These findings were cited by the recent U.S. State Department report, partially conceding, for the first time, the facts of political repression in Mexico.

In almost all of these cases, Goldman emphasized, the sole element of proof was confessions by the defendants.

These confessions, he said, were extracted by the most grisly kind of torture.

But, interjected the judge, could this happen to a "notorious" figure like Marroquin, who has spoken in sixty U.S. cities, and whose case is widely known?

All the more likely, Goldman responded. Someone like Marroquin would be a special target of the White Brigades, the extralegal arm of the government, which carries out much of the repression.

The White Brigades, Goldman explained are a "not so clandestine" vigilante gang composed in the main of military, federal, and state police.

Press accounts, he said, have openly discussed the fact that the head of the White Brigades is a high official of Mexico's department of justice.

Goldman also testified that for two years he had studied the problem of Mexico's "disappeared." These are political activists who have been taken into custody by the cops in the presence of witnesses and then vanish.

Goldman flatly rejected the contention that the amnesty has ended political repression.

He was "skeptical" about its worth, he said, because the government has done nothing to end continuing abuses. Particularly, he stressed, it has not acted to end the illegal activities of the White Brigades. In fact, it still pretends the vigilante gang doesn't exist.

Until these practices are stopped,

Goldman declared, the amnesty offers only "illusory protection."

Rosario Piedra continued the dissection of the amnesty myth.

She spoke with firsthand knowledge as the founder of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared" and Exiled.

She recalled that in October 1978, a month after the amnesty was approved by the Mexican congress, 100,000 people marched in Mexico City commemorating the tenth anniversary of the police massacre of students at Tlatelolco.

The principal demands of the demonstration, Piedra said, were: amnesty; free the political prisoners; and present the "disappeared."

To rally so huge a throng around these demands, she observed, suggested that the Mexican people are certainly skeptical about the amnesty.

She said only some of the political prisoners have actually been freed under the amnesty. And she cited the cases of two of these, teachers, who were since taken back into custody, tortured, and forced to confess to new "crimes."

Several of those named in the amnesty had already been released on bond.

And several, she noted dryly, were already dead.

Furthermore, she continued, there are now a total of 451 known "disappeared." She said that at a press conference after the amnesty, Mexico's attorney general blandly asserted that these people had either gone underground or had been killed—either by their comrades or relatives!

She cited several specific cases of people who had been tortured or killed by the White Brigades since the amnesty.

Piedra assessed the amnesty as a concession to the rising anger of the Mexican people, an attempt to persuade them the situation is indeed improving.

It was also, she added, a move to undercut the impact of the human rights movement in Mexico.

"They thought we would go away," she concluded. "But we will fight until there are no 'disappeared,' no political prisoners—until we can take Héctor safely home."

How you can help

MY STORY
By Héctor Marroquin



The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.

This pamphlet, available in English and Spanish, outlines the facts of Marroquin's case and shows that he is innocent of the charges of terrorism leveled against him by the Mexican government. The price is fifty cents, or thirty-five cents a copy in orders of ten or more.

You can help save Marroquin's life by ordering and selling this pamphlet in your area.

- You can also help by:
- Donating money to the defense effort;
 - Circulating petitions demanding asylum for Marroquin;
 - Endorsing the defense committee;
 - Getting your union or other organization to endorse Marroquin's request for political asylum.

Write: Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

'Why I joined the socialist movement'

The following are excerpts from the April 3 testimony of Héctor Marroquín at the Immigration and Naturalization Service hearing.

Under direct examination by his attorney, Margaret Winter, Marroquín explained why he fled from Mexico to the United States after being framed up because of his politics.

In our last issue, we reported on Marroquín's testimony concerning repression in Mexico and his experiences as an undocumented worker in the United States.

Here we present brief excerpts from Marroquín's testimony, in which he explains why he joined the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. This is followed by excerpts from the cross-examination of Marroquín by INS trial attorney Daniel Kahn.

* * *

DIRECT EXAMINATION

Winter. Mr. Marroquín. While you were in the United States, did you join any political organizations?

Marroquín. Yes. In 1976 I joined the Socialist Workers Party and, later, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Winter. Do you want to say anything about your membership in the organizations?

Marroquín. I joined these two organizations because I fully agree with the program of these two organizations. Because of the perspective they have for social change. Because they are the only political organizations in this country that stand for the political independence of working people from the Democratic and Republican parties.

I joined these two organizations because they have a correct program for changing this society toward a society in which production is for human needs and not for profit.

When I joined these two political organizations, nobody asked me for any papers.

When I was in the hospital, for example, I was in trouble for eight hours before I was accepted because I didn't have any documents.

Whenever I looked for a job, I was always asked for documents.

Wherever I went, I was always asked for documents.

When I joined these two political organizations, nobody asked me for any papers.

And I saw these two political organizations as those standing in the forefront of the fight for democratic rights in this country, in the fight for political freedom, in the fight against racism, against sexism, in the fight against unemployment, in the fight for better standards of living, and in the defense of working people in this country.

I was active as a trade unionist. I helped organize a Teamster drive in the Coca Cola plant where I was working at the time. We had a successful drive. We won the election to be represented by the Teamsters.

I was also active in the antideportation movement in this country, particularly here in Texas.

CROSS EXAMINATION

Kahn. A Marxist-type government, the type of government they have in Cuba, would you like to see that kind of government in the United States?

Marroquín. In the sense that it is a workers and peasants government?

Kahn. Any way you want it.

Marroquín. Yes. I would like to see a workers government in the United States. . . .

Kahn. If the president of the United States, in your opinion, began acting like Mr. Batista, then do you feel it would be justified to throw him over, by force?

Marroquín. If the president of the United States begins acting like Ba-



Héctor Marroquín, atop car, was well received as he and contingent of supporters participated in March 31 Chicano parade in San Antonio.

tista, like Pinochet, like Somoza . . . like the military junta in Brazil or like all of these dictatorships in Latin America, I think the American people have every right to defend themselves against being executed, tortured, assassinated. . . .

Kahn. So you would accept the violent overthrow of the United States government?

Winter. Mr. Kahn, I think that's quite beyond the. . . .

Judge. Does he believe in the violent overthrow of the United States government? Simply answer yes or no.

Marroquín. I believe the American people have every right to self-defense. Just like when you fought for the independence of this country from the British. And just like when you fought against slavery in this country.

Kahn. If Cuba is the country you admire most, for their government, why wouldn't you seek asylum there instead of here?

Marroquín. Why not here, if that right is granted by the United Nations protocol? And it is precisely because the Immigration Department does not grant this right to Chileans, Nicaraguans, Haitians, that I want to fight for this human right to be recognized here.

So that I can find a way to explain what is happening in Latin America, how we are starving to death, and what the role of the U.S. government in Latin America is. Explain it to the American people and seek their solidarity.

Kahn. Did you ever starve to death in Mexico?

Marroquín. No. I wouldn't be here. There are cases of literally thousands of babies that have not received the right nutrition, that have died at a young age because of sickness, have died before they are. . . .

Kahn. But what does it have to do with political persecution?

Marroquín. Well, those happen to be the same victims that the government kills in Mexico, the exploited and the oppressed.

Kahn. Isn't that more of a social problem?

Marroquín. It is a social and a political problem. In order to change society, you have to present a political alternative.

Kahn. But isn't that mainly a problem that the World Health Organization should look into?

Marroquín. I think this is a problem that the working people of the world can take care of. The toilers of the world—those that create everything. Those are the people that can take care of this problem.

Kahn. You mean something like, "workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains"?

Marroquín. [Laughing] What does this have to do with it?

Kahn. You said "the toilers."

Marroquín. Yes. I said that.

Kahn. Is that your motto: "Workers of the world"?

Marroquín. I believe in the international workers solidarity. And I think this, in the end, is going to end this situation of oppression in the world.

Kahn. And are the enemies the fat cats? The owners of industry? The owners of oil companies, are they the enemy?

Marroquín. Well, if you want to call them fat cats, call them whatever way you want. I call them capitalists.

Kahn. When you left Mexico in 1974, who was the president of Mexico?

Marroquín. At the time, the president of Mexico was Mr. Luís Echeverría.

Kahn. And what was his political persuasion?

Marroquín. Oppression.

Kahn. All right. Was there an election in 1976?

Marroquín. Yes.

Kahn. And who was elected?

Marroquín. Mr. López Portillo.

Kahn. Is he from the same political party as Mr. Echeverría?

Marroquín. From the same political party as all the presidents in the past fifty years have come from.

Kahn. Did he run on a platform of reform?

Marroquín. They always run on platforms of reform and social change.

Kahn. But didn't he come through with an amnesty [for political prisoners]?

Marroquín. Yes.

Kahn. Didn't that indicate some change for the better?

Marroquín. He came through with an amnesty—a limited and conditional amnesty—that has not benefited, as I said before, or protected, or applied to more than 30 percent of the political prisoners in Mexico.

Kahn. Now, what if you found out that you personally were named in the amnesty for political or criminal indiscretions or crimes? Would that make you happy?

Marroquín. No. My case is not an individual case. My case is only an example of the kind of repression that exists in Mexico. If they give me an amnesty individually and at the same time leave the overwhelming majority of political prisoners languishing in jail and they do not present a solution to the hundreds of disappeared politi-

cal activists, that does not make me happy at all.

Kahn. Are you seeking asylum, or withholding deportation, based on your individual case, or for all the prisoners, for all the victims in Mexico?

Winter. Mr. Kahn, he has already testified he does not believe it will make him safe.

Kahn. I'm saying, are you seeking political asylum for yourself or all the political prisoners in Mexico?

Marroquín. I think that it is obvious that the application is made in my name. I am seeking political asylum for myself—Héctor Marroquín Manríquez. It doesn't mention 500 names.

Kahn. OK. But then again, if it turns out that you, Héctor Marroquín Manríquez, have been granted amnesty for all criminal and political events of the past—committed or alleged—it's all wiped out, that wouldn't make you happy?

Marroquín. That wouldn't make me feel happy because that wouldn't make me feel safe in Mexico.

Kahn. Why not?

Marroquín. Because as long as there are political prisoners, as long as there are disappeared, for as long as there is torture, how can I feel safe?

How can I say that the government has decided to stop assassinating, torturing, and disappearing political prisoners, if they are still doing it? How can I feel safe?

Kahn. When you say that you approve of the Cuban government, do you approve of the Cuban foreign policy? Do you approve of the Cuban practice of sending soldiers to Angola?

Marroquín. Yes I do.

Kahn. Would you approve, if it would help to bring about a revolution of the workers, would you approve if Cuba sent its soldiers to the United States?

Marroquín. I don't think that that is going to be the case. I think the American people are perfectly capable of taking care of their problems.

Kahn. My question was, do you approve of exporting revolution?

Marroquín. I approve of international working class solidarity. And if the Cuban people sent some of their best people to fight in Africa, and concretely in Angola, it was because the United States government was backing the South African government to intervene in Angola, and because they were backing the Somalian government to intervene in Ethiopia, to crush the revolutions that were taking place.

Kahn. Then you feel Cuba was justified in doing what it did because the United States was in opposition?

Marroquín. I said the United States government. I did not mean the American people.

Kahn. But the government?

Marroquín. Yes. There is a book by [John] Stockwell that very well documents the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in Angola and the attempt to crush the revolutionary movement taking place there for national independence.

Kahn. So I take it that you do not approve of the United States government as it now exists?

Marroquín. You are correct.

Kahn. And it's your wish to change it, if you could?

Marroquín. Yes, it is.

Kahn. But the American government, as it now stands, has seen fit to support a country in Africa. And you approve of the Cubans' actions in opposing the present actions of the American government. True?

Marroquín. Well, I approve of the Cuban solidarity with the revolutionary movement for national independence and against imperialism in Asia, in Angola, and in Ethiopia.

Kahn. And you consider the United States part of that imperialism?

Marroquín. The United States government and the big American corporations.

Winter's summation: Can

The following is the summation made by attorney Margaret Winter on behalf of Héctor Marroquín at the conclusion of his INS hearing April 5.

* * *

Three questions have been presented by this hearing, your honor. The first question is whether an outspoken critic of the United States government, whether a Marxist, a socialist, can ever obtain asylum in the United States.

The second question that is, of course, presented by this hearing is whether Héctor Marroquín in this proceeding has actually met his burden of proof under the applicable standards set forth by the law of political asylum.

And the third question is the one I believe is most difficult—presents a great problem—and that is whether this court will accept its responsibility, which I submit is an awesome one, to rule on the basis of the evidence presented under these standards and on no other basis.

Addressing myself to the first point, that is whether Héctor Marroquín's advocacy of ideas, whether the fact that he is a Marxist, an avowed socialist, makes him ineligible for political asylum. Your honor, Section 241 of the Immigration and Nationality Act has been invoked in these proceedings.

That section sets forth classes of deportable aliens, and there has been constant reference by Mr. Kahn [the Immigration and Naturalization (INS) prosecutor] to certain of the provisions of that section. I find that these references have displayed Mr. Kahn's rather frightening ignorance of the last twenty years of constitutional law.

First, these provisions of the INA [Immigration and Nationality Act] to which he is referring track very closely the language of the Smith Act. It is these provisions that the Supreme Court has held—under a series of decisions, beginning with the decisions in *Dennis*, *Scales*, *Yates*, and *Noto*—that unless the court were to interpret these provisions to forbid penalizing anyone for advocacy of any ideas then that statute must be held unconstitutional and the only way to save it was to put that judicial gloss on it, namely that one cannot be penalized for holding any ideas, including socialist ideas, including Marxist ideas.

The second fact of which Mr. Kahn appears to be ignorant is, a litigation that is now quite famous, the *Socialist Workers Party v. the Attorney General*, which has been pending for six years in the Second Circuit and the Southern District of New York, has been twice to the Supreme Court and three times to the Court of Appeals and which firmly establishes the utter legality of the SWP.

It establishes the rights of its

A view from the bench

HOUSTON—Even if he tried, INS judge James Smith would find it hard to rule objectively on Héctor Marroquín's plea for asylum. At least that's what's indicated by a statement Wilson gave to the April 6 Houston *Post*.

He said he had in the past ruled in a number of asylum cases, including those of Iranians fearful of being returned to the murderous dictatorship of the shah.

"I denied each and every case presented to me by an Iranian," Smith said, "because I did not feel they would be persecuted in Iran."



ATTORNEY MARGARET WINTER

Militant/Harry Ring

members to hold Marxist and socialist ideas, and it establishes that the SWP and the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], an associated organization, have never been guilty of criminal acts.

I think, your honor, that what is posed here is that the INS simply cannot be allowed to set itself up as a self-appointed thought patrol of the border. What is it that this thought patrol is supposed to do? Is it supposed to check on the contents of an alien's mind before he's allowed into this country?

And the question is, who must he please? Who is it that Mr. Marroquin must please with his ideas before he can be admitted? Must his ideas please the border patrol? Must they please Mr. Kahn? Or, indeed, must these ideas please your honor?

Mr. Kahn made the remark yesterday or the day before yesterday that Héctor Marroquín's ideas are anathema to him. And I suppose it has also emerged from this record that Héctor Marroquín's activities in support of the labor movement, in support of social struggles in Mexico and in this country, are also anathema to Mr. Kahn. And I suppose that Mr. Marroquín's party, the SWP, and the YSA, of which he is also a member, are anathema to Mr. Kahn.

But, your honor, is Mr. Kahn or the INS going to be allowed to anathemize ideas, the ideas of undocumented workers or green card holders, or of visitors to the United States whether they are here as students or to exchange ideas with other people, citizens of this country, or whether they

are here as political refugees?

If the INS is going to be allowed to anathemize the ideas of any of these people, any of these noncitizens, then the American people as a whole are in trouble. Because it's my opinion that the most precious gain of the American revolution was the First Amendment. And that gain was a very precious freedom which, of course, is not applicable only to U.S. citizens but is applicable to any human being within these borders of the United States.

There was a Houston paper that came to my attention that quoted Mr. Kahn this morning as having made a disturbing remark, a remark which I hope he didn't actually make. And I know that people sometimes are misquoted. He is quoted as having said, we don't want people with Marroquín's ideas in this country.

And there was another report in another Houston paper yesterday in which Mr. Kahn was quoted as saying—and again I admit the possibility that he was misquoted, I hope he was misquoted—but the quote was, if we grant asylum to him (meaning Marroquín) we'll have a million of them coming out of the woodwork, we'll have 50,000 of them coming out of the woodwork.

This remark frankly stunned me, your honor. I hope that is not the position of the INS. Could it possibly be the position of the INS that the people of Mexico are to be equated with roaches or insects? Because if that is the INS's attitude then the motto that should be written over its wall is, "Nothing alien is human to me."

I'm going to move on now to the second point that I think has to be considered in this hearing. And that is whether the burden of proof has been met in this case under the applicable standards. So of course we must look first to what those standards are. And I believe that they have been very crudely misstated by Mr. Kahn during the course of this hearing. First we have Article I of the UN Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The Article I definition of a refugee is someone not in his home country who has a well-founded fear of political persecution—the applicable persecution fear here—if he is returned to his country.

And of course Article 33 of the Convention and Protocol sets forth the principle of *nonrefoulement*—that is the principle that a signatory to the agreement, to the treaty, is absolutely forbidden to return such a person to the country where he has a well-founded fear of political persecution. So the standard is "well-founded fear."

The other standard which might possibly come into question, and which Mr. Kahn has invoked and which the INS district director before him has invoked, is the provision of the UN Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which excludes from its protection those persons as to whom there is serious reason to consider that they have committed either war crimes, nonpolitical crimes, crimes against peace, or crimes against humanity. And the applicable standard here, of course, is "serious reason to consider" that the person has committed any of these.

Once it is clear what the standards are, of course, the question becomes, have we met our burden of proof of going forward with the facts. Have we met our burden under those standards? And I submit that never has the burden been more overwhelmingly met than it has been in this case, through the following means.

First, there was the totally candid and totally unimpeached testimony of Mr. Marroquín himself. Each fact in his account, in minute detail, has been substantiated by the testimony of his wife, Maria; by fifty-some documents corroborating the details of his claim; and by the sworn statement of Guillermo Andrade Gressler, his attorney in Mexico, who is one of the most prominent and respected lawyers in that country.

Now, Mr. Kahn's only efforts, his only attempts to rebut Mr. Marroquín were as follows. First what I must characterize as a rather ill-informed attack on Mr. Marroquín's political ideas. And second what I can only characterize as a bizarre inquisition on the *Communist Manifesto* and other documents, papers, and ideas. I must point out to your honor what is perhaps already evident to you. Namely, that after fifteen months since this case—since Mr. Marroquin has been out of jail and the asylum petition itself has been in the courts for longer

Mind of a 'migra' lawyer

HOUSTON—INS trial attorney Daniel Kahn has a mentality entirely befitting the racist *migra* cops he represents.

For instance, he told the April 4 Houston *Post*:

"If it ever came out we granted asylum to a Mexican, 50,000 of them would be coming out of the woodwork."

a socialist gain asylum?

than that—the government could not come up with a single shred of evidence to cast doubt on Mr. Marroquín's account of the facts. And the only explanation. . . . Well, I will not say what the explanation can possibly have been for Mr. Kahn's request to keep the record open for another thirty days.

In addition to Mr. Marroquín's testimony, we have the testimony of experts. And those experts are obviously the two most authoritative that there could possibly be on the subject of the current political situation in Mexico as it relates to the well-foundedness of Mr. Marroquín's fear of return. That is Rosario Piedra and Robert Goldman.

Both of these witnesses testified that the situation in Mexico is just as bad today as it was before September 1978 [when the amnesty law was enacted]. Their testimony was unimpeached, and I submit, your honor, that it is unimpeachable, literally unimpeachable in this case, since as it happens both of their reports have been relied on by the State Department itself in its most recent report, the report of February 1979, the country report on Mexico.

Mr. Kahn's shameful attempt to red-bait Professor Goldman backfired, to his great embarrassment I'm sure, and it was obvious that Mr. Kahn was too embarrassed to even attempt to cross-examine Mrs. Piedra. At least I can only conclude that from the fact that he was not present in the room—perhaps his car pool had left—at the time that Mrs. Piedra was available for cross-examination.

The government in rebuttal of Mr. Marroquín's really unassailable case for the well-foundedness of his fear has consisted of only two pieces of evidence. The first was the amnesty law, which we have also submitted and which was submitted by [Mr. Kahn] for the purpose of showing that Mr. Marroquín really didn't have very much to fear now. He may have been in trouble before; perhaps his life was in danger before September 1978, but now with the amnesty law all is well.

And I submit to your honor without a great deal of argument, because I think very little argument is necessary, that this argument of Mr. Kahn's was utterly demolished by the two entirely authoritative witnesses, Professor Goldman and Mrs. Piedra.

The second piece of evidence and the last piece of evidence submitted by the government in rebuttal was a newspaper article, a clipping, from a paper called the *Huntsville Item*, which purports to quote Mrs. Piedra, and which I submit Mr. Kahn further distorted in his representation of what the article said. But at any rate this is really absurd and it needn't detain us for long, because Mrs. Piedra herself was examined on the article and, I think, completely disposed of the point.

And now, your honor, I arrive at the third and last point. The third question that I think has been presented in the course of this hearing and I think it's the most difficult for your honor. That is, the court's responsibility to decide this case on the law and on the facts as presented at this hearing, the facts in the record, and on nothing else.

Now, your honor has noted, correctly, I think, that this is a case of first impression, and I understand and am in sympathy with the position that it is always very difficult to break new ground. It is difficult for any court to break new ground. And it is a fact that no Mexican national has ever been granted political asylum in the United States and that if your honor is to grant political asylum to Mr. Marroquín he will very much be breaking new ground.

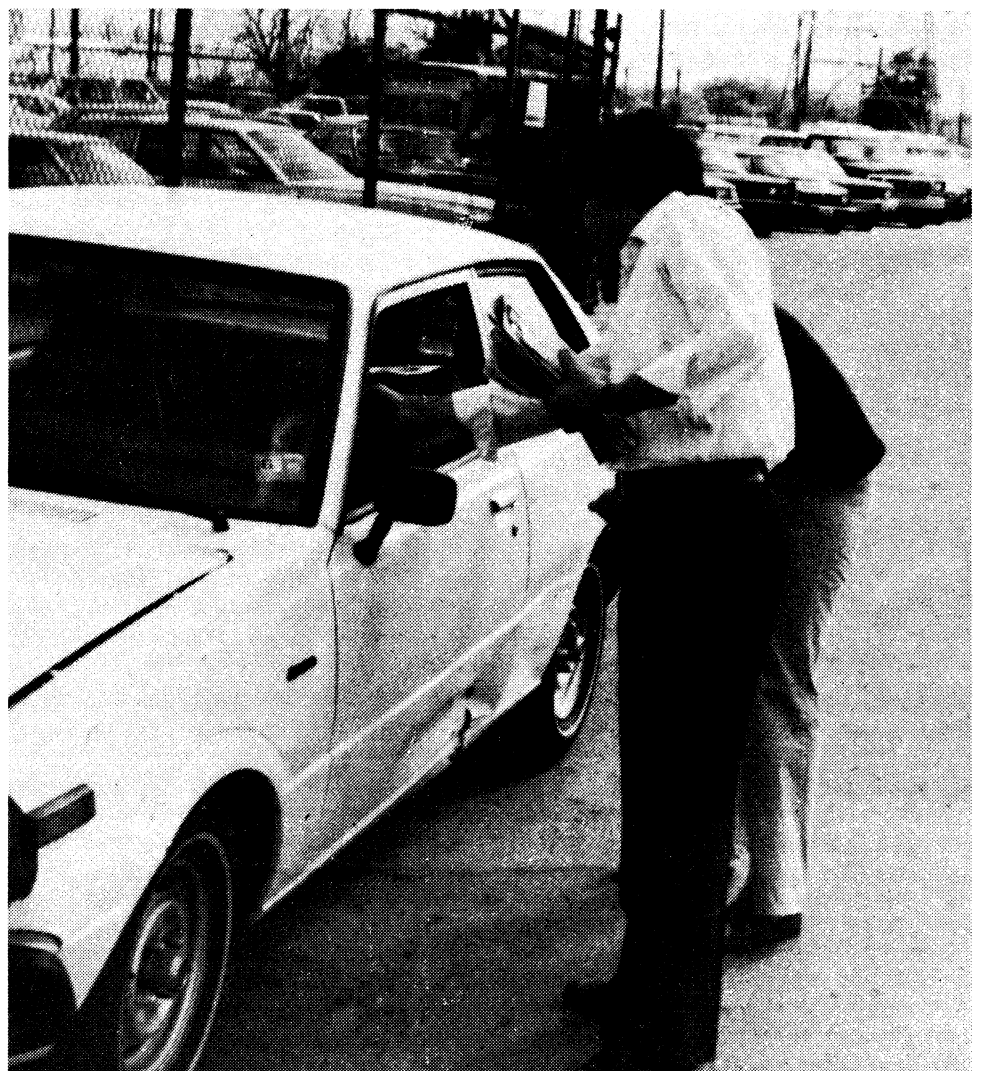
I submit that it always takes great courage to be the first to make a move of that kind, to make precedents, especially to make a precedent on a question which is of tremendous public importance and currently of tremendous public interest and concern.

It is a fact, and I recognize that, that this court would be the first court ever to recognize the right of asylum from Mexico, which is an ally of the United States government. Nevertheless, your honor, I submit that it is the responsibility of this court to do nothing less than to decide this case on the facts presented here and on the applicable law. And this is a very heavy responsibility. Now, I know that it's possible that any court might say to itself—any court might prefer, let me say, to evade the responsibility that I've just been trying to outline. And it would not evade that responsibility with any bad motive at all but rather in the belief that it was not competent to make such a difficult decision and to prefer that it be made by a higher court. But I submit to your honor that such an evasion of this responsibility cannot, can never be remedied by a higher court.

I submit that irreparable harm will be done to Mr. Marroquín by any such evasion of responsibility for the following reason, which is really very simple. It is because Mr. Marroquín, like everyone else in these circumstances, has the right to a decision that is not a decision on a cold record, that is not a decision on a file, a foot-high stack of papers clipped into a file that he'll never know if anyone reads, that he'll never have a chance to argue. He has a right to a decision not on that cold record, but a right to a decision which has been thoroughly informed by live testimony, by live cross-examination, and by a face-to-face confrontation between the trier of fact, the witnesses, and opposing counsel.

I suggest to your honor that he consider that a higher court will never, never have the benefit, for example, of observing the demeanor, the emotion that was displayed, I think the very genuine emotion that was displayed, by Mr. Marroquín's wife, María, when she testified on the plight of the young couple, the horror they faced, their reactions when they heard the news of these unfounded charges.

I submit to your honor similarly that a higher court will never under any circumstances have the opportunity of observing the demeanor, the candor,



Militant/John Sarge
Marroquín distributes literature on case to workers at Hughes Tool Company in Houston. His fight for asylum has won significant labor support.

the whole presence of Mrs. Piedra when she testified with her encyclopedic knowledge of the state of repression in Mexico, on the plight of the relatives of the disappeared.

No higher court will ever have the opportunity to observe, to listen to the testimony of Delia Duarte de Ramírez, the woman who testified to the destruction of her entire family, of four children, of a daughter-in-law, the death and the torture of her children, of her family by the Mexican authorities.

Similarly no higher court will hear and be able to observe Héctor Marroquín or for that matter any of the other witnesses in this case.

Your honor, I'm asking this court to do two things. First, I'm asking you to accept the responsibility to decide this case on the law and on the basis of facts adduced at this hearing and that are of record and on no other consider-

ation. And I submit that no higher court can possibly relieve your honor of that responsibility.

Secondly, I ask your honor to answer two questions. One question is: Does your honor believe that there are serious reasons in the light of Mr. Goldman's testimony, in the light of Mrs. Piedra's testimony, in the light of Mr. Marroquín's testimony and of his wife's testimony, and of the documents submitted, is there serious reason—serious reason—the standard under Article 1 Section F of the UN Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees—to consider that Héctor Marroquín has committed under international law a war crime? A crime against peace? A crime against humanity? Or any serious nonpolitical crime? Any crime at all, your honor, for that matter?

The second question that I want your honor to answer is: Has Héctor Marroquín a well-founded fear of being politically persecuted should he be returned to Mexico, should he be deported? Does he have a well-founded fear that he would be tortured, that he would be kidnapped by the White Brigades, that he would be held incommunicado, that he would be denied a trial, that he might be kept in detention without trial or sentencing for five years, and that he might not survive the ordeal because he might be gunned down in the street by the White Brigade or some other paramilitary organization that works closely with the Mexican police?

Should this court fully assume its responsibility for answering those questions, I believe, I have perfect faith that there is only one possible conclusion, namely, that your honor will grant political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

For I submit that the only crime that there is serious reason to believe Héctor Marroquín has committed is the crime of being a worker without documents. And for that crime the penalty cannot be, must not be, the grave risk of torture or death.

That's all I have to say, your honor.

Steel unionist urges asylum

Linus Wampler, director of District 33 of the United Steelworkers of America, has called upon INS director Leonel Castillo to grant asylum to Héctor Marroquín.



LINUS WAMPLER Militant/Andy Rose

District 33 includes the Mesabi Iron Range of northern Minnesota. The following is the text of Wampler's April 3 letter to Castillo.

* * *

I have learned that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is considering an appeal for political asylum in the United States for Héctor Marroquín Manríquez, who is a citizen of Mexico.

Realizing that he may face torture and death at the hands of Mexican authorities, I urge you to decide in favor of granting him the simple democratic right of political asylum as provided by the "United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees," which is ratified and acceded to by the United States government.

Very truly yours,
Linus Wampler
Director, District
No. 33, USWA

Why Marroquin would not be safe

Rights leader details Mexico repression

The internationally prominent Mexican human rights fighter Rosario Ibarra de Piedra was a major witness for Héctor Marroquín.

Piedra is the founder of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled.

The committee's exposés of political repression in Mexico have had a profound impact domestically and internationally. Some of the committee's findings were even cited in a recent U.S. State Department report on repression in Mexico.

Her efforts were initially sparked by bitter personal experience. Her son Jesús, a student activist, had gone into hiding for fear of the police. Her husband, then sixty-four, was tortured by police seeking the son's whereabouts. The torture was so severe he suffered a damaged spine and was unable to walk for five months.

Later, the Piedras learned their son had been arrested. He then "disappeared." Eyewitnesses said he was being held in a secret government prison outside Mexico City, but the Piedras have been

unable to establish if he is alive or dead.

On the witness stand, Piedra was questioned by Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter.

The following are extracts from her testimony.

* * *

Winter. Are you familiar with the name Cirilo Torres Enriquez?

Piedra. Yes. He is a friend of my family.

Winter. How long have you known him?

Piedra. Many years. I cannot remember. Many years ago, I was a friend of his mother.

Winter. What can you tell us about him?

Piedra. He is a good man who is a chemical engineer. He is thirty-eight years old.

Winter. Did he ever have any trouble with the police?

Piedra. Never.

Winter. Was he ever taken by the Nuevo León state judicial police?

Piedra. He was taken when they accused his brother, Dr. Miguel Torres Enriquez, of being a guerrilla. And they took all the family. They didn't just take Cirilo. They took his mother, his sisters. And they took all of them to a ranch to torture them.

Winter. Did your husband meet Cirilo Torres on one occasion in prison?

Piedra. Yes they were in the same cell block.

Winter. And that was on the occasion when your husband was tortured and questioned about the whereabouts of your son?

Piedra. Yes.

Winter. Are you familiar with the name Armando Iracheta Lozano?

Piedra. Yes.

Winter. What can you tell us about Armando Iracheta?

Piedra. He is a good man. I am a friend of his wife. I visited him many times in the prison in Topo Chico in Monterrey.

And he was tortured to make him confess participation in the kidnapping of Mr. Garza Sada. But he didn't

do that. He was not in that place.

Winter. Do you remember what kind of torture Armando Iracheta was subjected to in jail?

Piedra. I'm going to try to describe it. I remember very well because he told me, and he wrote this for Amnesty International, and I was there when he wrote the statement.

Well, for hours and hours, he was standing there like this, stretched out.

And then he was kneeling by this tube. And they tied his penis to this and if he moved he had such terrible pain. And he was there many, many hours.

And they submerged his head in water to make him confess. Finally he signed whatever they wanted him to sign.

Winter. Are you familiar with the name Gustavo Adolfo Hiraes Morán?

Piedra. Yes.

Winter. What can you tell us about Mr. Gustavo Adolfo Hiraes Morán?

Piedra. He is a very intelligent man. He is a teacher, and I think he is now a lawyer. He studied in prison, and he has written books.

He was tortured, too.

He was captured in Sinaloa and was taken to Mexico City which is 2,000 kilometers away from that city. He was taken in a truck, and he was not allowed to drink water or go to the bathroom [the entire trip].

He was also submerged in water to make him confess all the things they wanted him to confess, too. He is now in Nuevo León State Prison.

Winter. Do you know Elisa Gutiérrez Cortez?

Piedra. Yes, she is my friend.

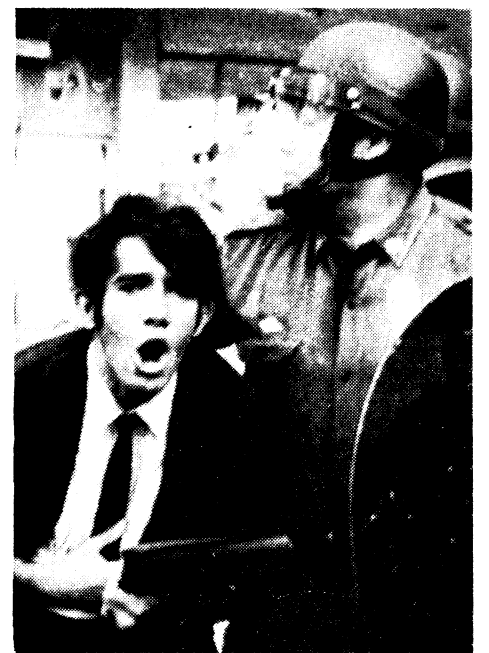
Winter. Could you tell us everything you know about her story?

Piedra. She has four sons in prison. Two in Mexico City . . . two more in the Oaxaca State Prison.

Winter. Do you know the history of each of her four children? For example, her son Salvador Cortez Gutiérrez?

Piedra. He's in Mexico in Reclusorio Oriente prison. All of them were students at Oaxaca.

The police said all of them were activists in an armed group called



Police seize wounded student during Mexican government's bloody attack on students at Tlatelolco, 1968.

Union del Pueblo. I don't know whether they were in this group or not. But they were very badly tortured, all of them.

Winter. How old was Salvador?

Piedra. Nineteen years old.

He was a student. He was studying at the medical school. The authorities asked his teachers for 5,000 pesos for stopping the torture.

It was nothing unusual in Lecumberri Prison to do that. All the relatives must pay a certain amount of money to have their relatives free of torture.

José Guadalupe, they made a very special torture on this young man. They took him in a helicopter and opened the door and they told him, "We are going to put you out of this helicopter."

The other son, Arturo, he was a teacher at the University of Oaxaca. He was a member of the Democratic Movement of Oaxaca, and that was the reason why they took him, and they broke his ribs.

He is still in Oaxaca, and he did not commit any crimes.



Militant/Rich Frankel

ROSARIO IBARRA DE PIEDRA

Was FBI involved in Marroquin frame-up?

HOUSTON—Important documents on the secret role of the FBI in Mexico were introduced at the Marroquín hearing by Roger Rudenstein, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The documents provide substantial evidence to back up the charge that the FBI, operating illegally in Mexico, was involved in the original frame-up charges against Marroquín.

Rudenstein testified that a year ago he had obtained from the FBI documents pertaining to its previously secret operations in Mexico.

The documents established that contrary to previously released informa-

tion, the FBI's Cointelpro program was not limited to the United States.

Under Cointelpro, FBI provocateurs conducted illegal harassment and disruption of dissident political groups and individuals.

Called "Counterintelligence—Border Coverage Program," the Mexican operation focuses on plans for "disruptive" and "discrediting" tactics against the labor, peasant, student, and radical movements in Mexico, Rudenstein testified.

The documents establish that the FBI, operating under cover in the U.S. embassy in Mexico City and in the U.S. consulates around the country,

enjoyed connections with the Mexican cops and used those connections to frame up political activists on criminal charges.

The documents also prove that the FBI works in collusion with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents. FBI agents are permitted to use INS checkpoints and to pose as border cops to interview people coming into the United States.

Rudenstein then analyzed a separate file of documents establishing that the FBI in Mexico has had Marroquín under surveillance since November 1968.

This was when Marroquín, then fifteen, became involved in protest activity as a result of the Tlatelolco massacre. A notation showed that copies of Marroquín's file were furnished to the INS and CIA.

One document, whose contents had been totally censored out before Rudenstein received it, was sent by telex to the FBI headquarters in Washington. This was just two days after the story first appeared in the Monterrey press asserting that Marroquín had been involved in a "conspiracy" to kill a school librarian.

Another document follows up with a description of Marroquín and instructions that key border cities should be alert to the possibility he might try to enter the United States.

Rudenstein stressed that a key feature of the Marroquín file was the

unusual extent of the deletions made by the FBI.

Such deletions invariably serve to cover up information about illegal activities by the FBI, Rudenstein explained.

In the undeleted sections of the file on Marroquín, he noted, there is not a single reference to illegal activity by him, despite the charges by the Mexican police and media.

"There is every reason to believe," Rudenstein told the court, "that there were multiple illegal acts by the FBI, its informers, and its confederates" against Marroquín.

Perspectiva Mundial

A biweekly magazine that brings a revolutionary socialist perspective on the news to Spanish-language readers.

☐ \$10 for a one-year subscription

☐ \$5 for a six-month subscription

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Country _____

Send to Perspectiva Mundial, P.O. Box 314 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Marroquin in 'L.A. Times'

A number of major dailies have indicated their recognition of the scope of Héctor Marroquín's precedent-setting demand for political asylum.

One indication of this was the *Los Angeles Times* invitation to Marroquín to submit a guest column on his case for its April 1 Sunday Opinion section.

The half-page article by Marroquín outlined the facts of his case and offered substantial evidence of political repression in Mexico.

Elections in Britain and Canada: class polarization deepens

By David Frankel

Elections will be held this May in Britain and Canada, two of the world's seven leading imperialist powers. In both cases the response of the industrial working class to the worldwide capitalist offensive against wages, working conditions, and the rights of labor is the central issue in the elections.

After eleven years in office, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau is fighting an uphill battle for reelection. Trudeau's Liberal Party lost thirteen out of fifteen parliamentary seats in a by-election last October.

The reason for Trudeau's unpopularity is not hard to find.

Unemployment averaged 8.4 percent in 1978—Canada's worst year since 1940.

Prices rose 9 percent in 1978, with food prices going up at a rate of 15.5 percent.

After three years of government wage controls, real wages for industrial workers dropped by more than 3 percent in 1978.

The anger building up among workers was shown in a nationwide postal strike last fall and in a strike by 12,000 workers at Inco, the biggest nickel mining company in the world. The Inco strikers, who walked out September 16, are still on the picket line.

Pressure from workers

Reflecting the pressure of the workers, Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) President Dennis McDermott has pledged to throw the full weight of the trade-union movement behind the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. The other main contender in the race is the Conservative Party.

According to the January 19 issue of *Canadian Labour Comment*, McDermott "called for total mobilization of the work force behind the New Democrats. . . ."

Claiming that union support would not be "ritualistic," McDermott declared: "I think the experience of the last three years under wage and price controls has led us to the irrevocable conclusion that one cannot separate the collective bargaining process from the political arena."

Of course, the last thing that the procapitalist leadership of the CLC wants is to encourage the class independence of Canadian workers. But because of the militancy growing in the ranks of labor, they have been forced to advance the NDP as an alternative.

Trudeau, meanwhile, has tried to

divert attention from the economic crisis by whipping up chauvinist sentiment for Canadian unity against the demand of the oppressed Québécois people for self-determination.

But the ruling-class offensive against the workers is the framework within which this and other political issues are posed. Thus, the Council for Canadian Unity, which was organized to counter the struggle for independence in Québec, complained in a report this January that people were more concerned with their economic condition than with Canadian unity.

"The net effect of this," the report claimed, "is that [people] want a bigger piece of a pie that has ceased growing regardless of whose share will be diminished by what they gain."

According to the report, "Continuation of the current economic climate of uncertainty, or worse, could well be associated with intensification of current antagonistic forms of provincial and regional thinking."

Class polarization

The election in Canada is scheduled for May 22. In Britain the election will be sooner (May 3), and the class polarization is even more obvious.

For the second time in less than five years, British workers have toppled a government by their refusal to knuckle under to wage restraints.

Although the immediate parliamentary issue that provoked the fall of Prime Minister James Callaghan's government March 28 was home rule for Scotland, there was no doubt about the central question involved.

As the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* admitted March 30, "the crisis in actual fact goes much deeper. It stems from the unrelenting struggle between the power of Britain's working class and its trade unions on the one hand and the power of the government on the other. . . ."

So far—as was shown by the wave of strikes that brought down Callaghan's government—the ruling class has had little success in trying to get British workers to accept the idea that they should pay for the economic crisis brought on by capitalism.

Callaghan and the other parliamentary leaders of the Labour Party have tried to tie the party as closely as possible to the ruling class. But they received a stinging rebuff at the Labour Party conference last October, when the party—which is based on the organized trade-union movement—voted by a two-to-one margin to reject any wage restraint policy.

Callaghan went ahead anyway and tried to impose a 5 percent limit on pay



THATCHER: Labor-hating Tory wants new laws to limit workers' rights.

increases—this at a time when inflation was running at a rate of about 9 percent.

Some 57,000 Ford auto workers were already on strike at the time of the Labour Party conference. They stayed out until November, when they returned to work with a 17 percent pay increase.

Early in January 80,000 truck drivers went on strike, tying industry in knots. They stayed out until they won a 21 percent increase.

A strike by rail workers was followed by a walkout of 1.5 million government workers determined to follow the example set by the auto workers and the truck drivers. Many of these workers—among the lowest paid in Britain—had never been on strike before.

With his wage plan in tatters, Callaghan was attacked by the Tories for "capitulating" to the unions. Conservative Party leader Margaret Thatcher denounced "the spectacle of a government abdicating its authority to strike committees."

Particularly galling to the British rulers was the use of flying picket squads by the truckers, who closed ports, warehouses, factories, and highways.

Thatcher's Tories are heavily favored in opinion polls. The Tories have been pushing for legislation to curb union rights, especially in the crucial area of picketing.

But such curbs are easier to propose than to implement. As the *Economist* noted in its lead editorial March 24, Thatcher's statements "so far do not suggest she has any more coherent alternative than the blood and tears experienced both by her Tory predecessor, Mr Edward Heath, in 1973, and Mr Callaghan this winter."

"Would the Tories be well advised to avoid trouble next winter by giving in to the unions and safeguarding their energies for 1980-81? Should they go ahead immediately with trade-union reform [i.e., attacks on union rights] as Mr Heath did and risk bloody confrontation? . . . Should some sort of volunteer force be established to help break public-service strikes?"

Past experience, as the editors of the *Economist* are well aware, does not bode well for such measures. Since the beginning of the 1970s, British politics

has been dominated by the refusal of the working class to bow to attempts by the capitalist government to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto their shoulders.

Victory for workers

In January 1972, coal miners broke through Heath's plan for holding down wages with a six-week strike—their first nationwide walkout since 1926. It was in this 1972 strike that the flying pickets first appeared.

Commenting at the time, the *London Observer* noted that the government "reckoned, as we all did, without the pickets: their use was of a kind and on a scale never before seen in an industrial dispute."

Heath tried to bring the miners into line once again when they struck in the winter of 1973-74. He declared a national emergency and ordered 16 million British workers onto a three-day workweek. But the miners held tough, and Heath was forced to call new elections.

Now a second capitalist government has been toppled by the determination of the working class to defend its standard of living. Callaghan's fall is a victory for the workers. It has shifted the relationship of class forces further against British imperialism and in favor of all the exploited and oppressed.

The position of the Labour Party leaders who want to maintain the party's subordination to British capital has been weakened. Those forces fighting for a Labour Party with a class-struggle program have been strengthened.

Masses seek alternative

One thing especially evident in the current political situation in Britain is the willingness of the working class to fight and its search for an alternative leadership that can express the aspirations of the working masses and organize them in the struggle to attain these goals.

The rise of the Scottish National Party is an example of how the workers are looking for some kind of alternative to the capitalist government in London. The March 2 vote for home rule in Scotland was a class vote

Continued on next page

China: crackdown against dissidents

By Dan Dickeson

The Chinese regime, beginning in mid-March, launched a sharp attack on the dissident movement, announcing new restrictions on freedom of expression and arresting a number of activists in Beijing.

The move to crack down on dissent was apparently initiated by Deng Xiaoping, who reportedly declared that

the democracy movement had gone "too far." Speaking to government and Communist Party officials at a meeting on China's invasion of Vietnam, Deng accused unnamed dissidents of meeting with foreigners and "selling" state secrets.

An editorial in the March 18 *Beijing Daily* repeated Deng's charges. On March 22, the *Beijing Daily* and *Workers Daily* both published major

articles alleging that "human rights" is a bourgeois slogan that should not be raised in a "socialist" society such as China.

On April 1, officials began tearing down all the wall posters in Beijing except those on "Democracy Wall."

The regime also instituted police surveillance of known dissidents. And there began to be reports of dissidents being arrested.

These moves to intimidate dissidents were at least partially successful. Fewer wall posters and public discussions have been reported at Democracy Wall since late March. The dissident journal *Reference News for the Masses* announced that it was temporarily suspending publication.

But some dissidents have made a determined effort to fight back.

On March 23, a poster went up on Democracy Wall blasting the official slanders against human rights advocates. Denouncing the current CP leadership as "the heirs, the bastard offspring of the Gang of Four," the poster continued:

The government claims that because the demand for human rights was raised by the people of America in the eighteenth century, anyone who calls for human rights today is therefore a supporter of capitalism. Who are they trying to fool?

On March 25, a group of dissidents gathered at Democracy Wall to sell pamphlets denouncing Deng Xiaoping and accusing him of trying to maintain "the same kind of dictatorship we had under Mao Zedong." Charging that "the Hua-Deng regime is trying to blame the democracy movement for the bankruptcy of its own economic plan," the pamphlet warned that so long as Deng tries to deny people their rights "we must no longer place our trust in him."

On April 4, four activists of the Human Rights Alliance went to Democracy Wall with a poster entitled "The

Slogan of Human Rights and the Swindle of 'Marxism-Leninism.'" Warning that "the enemies of democracy have begun to attack," their poster blamed the suppression of individual liberties on bureaucrats who know that if the democracy movement wins its demands, "they would no longer be able to keep the positions that have procured them substantial income without having to be responsible to the people."

The authors of the poster insisted that they are communists, and they called the authors of tirades against human rights in the official press "imbeciles [for whom] Marxism must necessarily signify the abolition of human and political rights. . . ."

Before the four activists could paste up all the pages of their poster, however, plainclothes police moved in to arrest them. Four more activists were reported arrested the next day, on the third anniversary of the Tian An Men demonstration.

As of April 5, an estimated fifteen dissidents had been arrested.

The current crackdown against dissent is the most serious one since the establishment of Democracy Wall in Beijing in November 1978. Although local officials in Beijing, Shanghai, and other cities had attempted from time to time to clamp a lid on public criticism, this is the first time that Deng Xiaoping has openly taken the lead in a coordinated crackdown.

The phony charge of "selling secrets to foreigners" is obviously aimed at discrediting those who have spoken up against the invasion of Vietnam. But it also reflects the regime's real fear that fighters for democratic rights in China might link up with their real allies—working people—in other countries. The labor movement internationally must seek to publicize the cases of the arrested dissidents and demand an end to the repression against them.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Beijing regime claims demand for human rights is 'bourgeois'

Pakistan: execution of Bhutto sparks protests

By Ernest Harsch

During the early morning hours of April 4, in a prison in Rawalpindi, Pakistan's military dictators hanged former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Coming in the midst of Gen. Zia ul-Haq's campaign of brutal repression against dissent by workers and peasants, the execution served as a warn-

ing to Pakistan's 77 million people that the same thing could happen to any one of them.

Bhutto had been found guilty more than a year earlier on charges of murdering the father of one of his political opponents in 1974. But the charges in that case, whatever their validity, were not the actual reason Zia had Bhutto executed. Nor was the

reason Bhutto's very real crimes against the Pakistani masses while he was in office.

What Zia hopes to accomplish is to further strengthen the repressive atmosphere that he has been building up since seizing power from Bhutto in July 1977. This has included the jailing of political dissidents, the introduction of public floggings and a few public executions, censorship of the press, and the gunning down of scores of striking workers.

Despite Bhutto's own brutal methods of rule while he held power, many in Pakistan have seen the execution for what it really is—an attempt to terrorize the masses. For that reason, demands for Bhutto's release were featured prominently in many of the antigovernment protests in the months leading up to the hanging.

Though Zia may calculate that Bhut-

to's hanging will have a dampening effect on political dissidence, it could also serve to harden opposition to his regime.

Within hours of the announcement of the execution, small protest demonstrations were held in both Rawalpindi and the industrial city of Karachi. The next day, thousands of demonstrators poured into the streets of Karachi, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and other cities around the country, condemning the execution, chanting antigovernment slogans, and clashing with police.

These actions were held despite a heavy show of force by the Zia regime and the "preventive detention" of some 2,000 leaders and activists of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party. During the protests against the hanging, hundreds more were arrested in the main cities.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...elections

Continued from preceding page

that expressed the workers' dissatisfaction.

New York Times correspondent R.W. Apple commented March 3 that "the margin of victory for limited home rule, or devolution, was provided entirely by the heavily industrialized Strathclyde region centered on Glasgow and the River Clyde."

This area has been a stronghold of the Labour Party for years, but many workers, fed up with the policies of leaders such as Callaghan, have begun to look to the Nationalists. And the workers are also looking in other directions.

It was pressure from the ranks in the unions, reacting to the economic squeeze, that forced the union leaders to repudiate Callaghan's wage policy. And it was rank-and-file strike committees that organized the flying pickets in the truckers' strike.

"Perhaps the most significant change is that the leaders of the British trade-union movement have lost control of their rank and file," columnist Hobart Rowen pointed out February 1.

The situation in Britain and also in

Canada is part of the broader political picture in the major imperialist countries. Although the intensity of class polarization varies from country to country, it is clear that the working class has moved to center stage.

A temporary standoff

What exists right now is a standoff. The capitalists have been able to chip away here and there, but they have not been able to move decisively in pushing the workers back and implementing their austerity plans. To do that successfully, they will ultimately have to take on and defeat the major industrial unions.

At the same time, the workers have not been able to impose their own solution to the crisis—to move forward

to socialism. But it is clear that the workers are looking for a leadership that can advance their struggles.

Time is the key in this situation. The standoff can only be temporary. As the crisis sharpens, so will the attacks of the ruling class.

Right now, the standoff in the class struggle means that revolutionists have time. Time to pour into the factories and mines. Time to establish proletarian nuclei in key centers of the working class. Time to win the vanguard of the rank-and-file workers, to give them a perspective, and to recruit them to a growing revolutionary workers party.

The current standoff in the class struggle is the preparatory period for the coming battles that will determine which class shall rule society.

On-the-scene report

Kurdish liberation fight challenges Iran gov't



Kurds are demanding control of their region

By Gerry Foley

KURDISTAN PROVINCE, Iran—The authority of the central government, both material and political, has waned to the vanishing point here. In the cities of Mahabad and Sanandaj the government was not able to conduct the March 30-31 referendum at all. Its representatives were thrown out of Mahabad.

Even in those areas where voting took place, only a small percentage of Kurds—who make up about one-tenth of Iran's population—cast ballots.

The mood of the people in the streets of Sanandaj was unmistakable. As I came into the city on the day of the referendum, several thousand Kurds were holding a demonstration. Their banner said, "No referendum—Self-determination first!"

The march had begun as a procession in honor of Kurdish volunteers killed in an automobile accident while going to the aid of the Turkmeni people in northeastern Iran who were under attack by the forces of the central government. But the funeral quickly became a mass demonstration against Tehran's attempts to maintain national oppression.

SAVAK center gutted

Sanandaj is in the very heart of the Kurdish mountain country. There was a major SAVAK center here, a walled compound covering an acre or more. Now it stands totally deserted, every window smashed and every movable object carried away.

There was a large local police force

as well, judging from the size of the police station and the number of blue cars around it. All the cars have been wrecked and burned, and the station is deserted. The gutted building stands amid a carpet of paper—all that is left of the police files.

Only the army garrison remains, and its survival is tenuous.

The attempt to reconstitute a centralized bourgeois state in Iran will require some careful maneuvering in Kurdistan. So far, the Tehran authorities have fallen over their feet.

Spontaneous rebellion

The first fighting in Sanandaj in mid-March was apparently between the supporters of one Kurdish religious leader, Moftizadeh, who sought a measure of autonomy from the central government; and those of the Shi'ite leader Saftari, who was sent in from Qum to be Khomeini's direct representative.

Both formed armed factions and strove to consolidate their control over Sanandaj. The government itself touched off the conflict by trying to reinforce Saftari, shipping in two truckloads of ammunition to the local garrison that was under his control.

The Moftizadeh faction demanded a share of the ammunition on March 16 and was refused. They then called on their supporters to gather in front of the barracks. From there they marched to the headquarters of the Saftari faction, where they were fired upon. Sev-

eral were killed or wounded.

Masses of people from the city then began to converge on the barracks, demanding arms for self-defense.

At this point, according to representatives of some of the armed groups in the city, all the organizations lost control of the situation and there was a sort of spontaneous rebellion by the masses demanding arms.

A solidarity campaign with Sanandaj was mounted throughout Kurdistan. Peasants brought in food, and the townspeople besieging the army barracks were reinforced. One local chief in Boukan, several hours away by road from Sanandaj, told me proudly that one of the people from his town had died in the siege of the Sanandaj barracks.

"That is an example of our solidarity," he said. "Everyone who could carry a weapon went to Sanandaj."

An uneasy cease-fire was achieved after negotiations between Kurdish leaders and a delegation from the central government headed by Ayatollah Taleghani of Tehran. A provisional council of five was set up to run the city until new elections.

The Tehran press presented the outcome as a generous grant of autonomy to the Kurdish people. But the Kurdish nationalist leader I talked with in Boukan—who was a member of the negotiating committee—took a dimmer view of the results. He said that the government team had said that it had no power to make decisions. Therefore he thought that nothing had been resolved.

Demand sovereignty

He made it clear that the Kurdish people will not settle for cultural concessions—such as the right to wear their own costumes and speak their own language, rights that they have already effectively taken. They demand full control of their country.

The Kurdish nationalist leaders do not use the term "autonomy"; they use the term "sovereignty." They do not call for separation from Iran but sovereignty obviously means that they want to run things in their own country. They place no prior limitations on how far this freedom can extend.

At least a major section of the Kurdish nationalists have taken a turn to the left. The Boukan chief explained:

"In our opinion our earlier national struggles failed for two reasons. One is internal—the question of leadership; that is, the class character of the leadership. The original leadership was feudal, and by their own nature they were localist. They could not all unite all the forces of the people.

"About the time of the Second World War, a bourgeoisie developed. But it is very weak and cannot take the leadership from the feudalists.

"The other reason is that the Kurds in the various states did not show solidarity with the struggles of the other peoples of those countries and the other layers of society."

He said that the Kurdish people in Iran have now decided to form alliances with the other oppressed peoples of the country—especially with the Azerbaijanis, with whom they have the closest geographic and historical ties—and that the immediate task was to assist the struggle of the Turkmenis.

A number of organizations have sprung up in Kurdistan, representing a combination of older nationalist forces and young leftists. They claim to be organizing direct popular government based on councils of toilers and students. It is not yet clear whether any of these organizations or all of them together have the support of the majority of the working people in any area. But it is obvious that a number of them have substantial support among the working population.

In Mahabad, there is a "Council of

the Revolution" that has the support of the main organizations of the city.

However, the present situation is still largely one of competing military and political factions, which are not clearly differentiated from each other by political program.

Competing factions

In Sanandaj there are three organizations: the Society for the Defense of the Revolution and Freedom, the Fedayeen, and the Moftizadeh faction. In Mahabad there are also three factions: the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the Fedayeen, and the Joint Staff of the Democratic Forces.

Mahabad is the stronghold of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK), the main pro-Moscow organization in the area. It seems to be a fairly minor force in Sanandaj.

Kurdish nationalists such as the Boukan leader I spoke with regard the DPK as a Trojan horse for the central government, ready to make a deal with Tehran at the expense of the national rights of the Kurds. The DPK is also distrusted by the young leftists in these groups, some of whom come from a Maoist background.

When I was in Mahabad on April 1 and 2, armed clashes broke out between DPK supporters and the other groups.

It is clear that in the present situation there is the danger of armed factionalism. This will persist until a revolutionary leadership is able to create democratically elected bodies that have the support of the majority of the people and can replace the vanishing authority of the old governmental institutions in Kurdistan. As long as this is not done, the central government will be able to find opportunities for maneuvering in this area, which it can no longer control directly.

The rejection of the referendum by the Kurdish people indicates that a head-on confrontation with the central government is shaping up. By their attitude toward this vote, the Kurds have in fact denied the legitimacy of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime.

The downfall of the monarchy has brought on an upsurge of nationalism among the other oppressed peoples of Iran as well; they find inspiration in the Kurdish struggle. Almost every day new groups raise demands. The latest are the Arabs of Khuzestan.

Alliance with workers

For the moment it is the oppressed nationalities of Iran, especially the Kurds, that are the main stumbling block in the way of the reconsolidation of the Iranian bourgeois state. The central government will use every means at its command to break them. So the Kurdish leaders are wise to seek alliances with the other oppressed nationalities. That represents an important step forward from the previous isolated struggles. But only the working class in the big Iranian cities can decisively defeat the attempt to restore strong bourgeois rule.

Unless the Iranian workers in the cities and industrial centers—and particularly in the oil fields—move, the Iranian bourgeoisie may be able to recreate an army that could overwhelm backward and rural Kurdistan. For example, most of the guns now held by hundreds of thousands of Kurds are contraband weapons—old army rifles and shotguns. But even the pro-Khomeini militiamen in the big cities generally have modern infantry weapons.

For the moment, though, the oppressed nationalities of Iran, even those in the most backward areas, have given the working class some time in which it will have a chance to regain the initiative and begin to organize.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Quote unquote

"... considerations of fairness and ultimate economic impact require the cost of replacement power be flowed through to consumers."

—Gerald Charnoff, an attorney for Metropolitan Edison Company, operator of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant.

'LA MIGRA' PREPARES FOR 1984

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is developing an Alien Documentation, Identification and Telecommunication system, known as ADIT. About \$24 million has already been spent on the ID card system, which is part of the Carter administration's proposed crackdown on undocumented workers.

While Carter has had to retreat on certain aspects of his anti-immigration plan, the INS is sticking to the ADIT project. INS Director Leonel Castillo plans to give out 5 million new

All the justice money can buy

Black lung disease kills an estimated 6,000 coal miners every year. It could be drastically reduced, if not eliminated, by proper safety measures. But safety cuts into profits.

After years of struggle, the government was finally forced to pass the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, which sets legal standards for dust levels in the mines. In September 1975 the Consolidation Coal Company—the country's second-largest coal producer—became the first company to be charged with conspiracy to violate the act.

Employees at Consolidation mines near Georgetown and Cadiz, Ohio, testified that they destroyed air and dust samples that exceeded the federal limits and substituted fake samples.

Even before the trial be-



Black lung protest in Washington

gan, federal Judge Robert Duncan threw out 142 charges against the company and its officials on technical grounds.

Then he ordered prosecutors not to mention the term black lung in court because he didn't want to "arouse the jury's passion."

Finally, on April 8, Duncan dismissed all remaining charges against Consolida-

tion. "It does seem that there was a lack of due care by Consolidation and its safety director," Duncan admitted. "It does cause some suspicion, but criminal cases cannot be tried on lack of due care or suspicion."

Apparently they can't be tried on hard evidence either—not when the defendant is Consolidation Coal Company.

identification cards to noncitizens in the United States. The cards, which will be placed in computer scanners at INS

checkpoints, could make possible immediate access by *la migra* to political dossiers.

At the same time, the ADIT

system is a pilot project that could be used as a first step toward the kind of national identification system for all citizens that has already been recommended by police officials.

Rather appropriately, the INS expects production and distribution of the ADIT system to be completed in 1984.

D.C. TEACHERS END STRIKE

More than 2,000 members of the Washington Teachers Union voted overwhelmingly March 29 to end a twenty-three-day strike.

The teachers had defied two court orders to return to work, agreeing to end their strike only after the court reinstated their old contract and ordered that no reprisals be taken against strikers.

Negotiations for a new contract are to continue until June

15, at which time remaining issues will be submitted to non-binding arbitration.

The order to extend the old contract came as cafeteria and custodial workers threatened to walk out in solidarity with the teachers.

Although most teachers felt the order was in their favor, they expect to be forced out on strike again in September if the school board sticks to its demands. The board is trying to lengthen the school day by ninety minutes and the school year by fifteen days, and is pushing a series of demands to eliminate any union control over conditions on the job.

DIXON SPEAKS TO HAITIANS IN MIAMI

More than 150 Haitians came to hear Socialist Workers Party leader Maceo Dixon speak on the situation in southern Africa.

Dixon, who recently returned from a fact-finding tour of southern Africa, spoke at the meeting sponsored by the Haitian Refugee Center March 17. *Militant* correspondent John Ratliff reports that "the meeting was held at a storefront headquarters of a Haitian social service agency. One-half hour before the meeting was scheduled to begin, people were beginning to spill onto the sidewalk."

Fr. Jean Juste, director of the center, introduced Dixon in Creole. He emphasized Dixon's leading role in the struggle for desegregation in Boston.

The audience frequently interrupted Dixon's presentation with applause. The slides he showed from his tour were of particular interest.

Dixon's explanation that capitalism is the source of colonial exploitation and socialism the solution also drew a good response. When Dixon's first slides of revolutionary Cuba appeared on the screen—as a backdrop to his explanation of Cuba's role in Africa—the audience burst into applause.

Denver socialists attacked

DENVER—Two participants in a Chicano Student Conference attacked a Young Socialist Alliance team and its literature display on the Auraria campus here April 6.

One of the attackers was Frank Lucero, an activist associated with the Crusade for Justice. The Crusade has a history of attacks on groups with whom it disagrees, including the unprovoked assault on two members of the Socialist Workers Party in 1976.

Lucero and a companion

demanding that the socialist literature table be removed because "some participants in the conference don't like the YSA and SWP."

YSA members Scott Foreman, Steve Marshall, and Tim Herr explained that their table was not interfering with the conference and was simply making socialist literature available to any of the several hundred people in the student center.

The attackers, backed by several other conference participants, then pushed over the literature table, kicked

Herr, and hit Marshall in the face.

In a statement released April 9, the YSA condemned the attack and explained that such actions weaken the student and labor movements.

"The worst enemy of free speech and civil liberties on campus is the university administration; the movements for social justice must take the *opposite* stance and fight vigorously to defend and extend all the rights we have won in struggle against the administration," the statement declared.

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM: A TRIBUTE TO EVELYN REED. Speakers: Caroline Fowlkes, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

THE REVOLUTIONARY ART OF DIEGO RIVERA. Speaker: Linda Downs, curator of education, Detroit Institute of Arts. Sun., Apr. 22, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Frank Lovell, retired member of United Auto Workers Local 160, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

OREGON

PORTLAND

ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY. Speaker: Kris Huget, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 29, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

THE WEBER CASE: THREAT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Bill Breihan, United Steelworkers Local 1343; Jack Bracy, Milwaukee Urban League; others. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

CALIFORNIA OAKLAND

LABOR'S FIGHT AGAINST CARTER'S 7 PERCENT SOLUTION. Speakers from Teamsters union, Steelworkers union, and International Association of Machinists. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

MINNESOTA ST. PAUL

SOUTH AFRICA: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Anita Baltzersen, member of Socialist Workers Party, traveled to South Africa in fall 1978. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 373 University. Donation: \$1.25. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

WHAT IS BEHIND CHINA'S INVASION OF VIETNAM? Speaker: Barry David, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 20, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside NE. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

COLORADO DENVER

SLIDE SHOW ON ROCKY FLATS NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLANT. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

STOP NUCLEAR POWER: HOW AND WHY. A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 27, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

NUCLEAR POWER: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO STOP IT. Speaker: Vinnie Longo, Socialist Workers Party.

No nukes!

ty. Fri., Apr. 20, 7 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALISM AND THE ANTI-NUCLEAR POWER MOVEMENT. Speaker: Paul Mailhot, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Wed., Apr. 18, 7 p.m. NYU Loeb Student Center Room 411, 566 LaGuardia Pl., Washington Sq. South. Aup: YSA. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

THREE MILE ISLAND DISASTER: CAN NUCLEAR POWER EVER BE SAFE? Speaker to be announced. Sun., Apr. 22, 677 S. 7th E. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Luis Castro, SWP candidate for mayor; Jeanette Tracy, SWP candidate for city council; Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now!*; Cathy Matthews, antinuclear activist; others. Sat., Apr. 21, reception 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. St. Stevens Episcopal Church, 419 Shawmut Ave. South End. Donation: reception \$1; rally \$1.50. Aup: Boston SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

THE WEBER CASE: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Joyce Wallace, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Linda Spense, vice-president, Afro-American Student Union; Sharon Finley, vice-president, National Organization for Women; Marty Pettit, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Apr. 22, 7:30 p.m. University Student Center, UMKC, 5100 Rockhill Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

A PANEL DISCUSSION ON WINNING ABORTION RIGHTS FOR WOMEN. Speakers: Gale Shangold, Socialist Workers Party; Denise Fuge, coordinator, Women and Health Committee, New York National Organization for Women. Fri., Apr. 20, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. (near Union Sq.) Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information (212) 260-6400.

350 at shorter workweek meet

By Shelley Kramer

WASHINGTON — About 350 trade unionists attended the National Conference and Legislative Lobby to Shorten the Workweek, held on Capitol Hill April 6. According to conference organizers, the unionists represented nineteen different international unions in twenty-two states.

The conference, the second of its kind, was called by the All Unions' Committee to Shorten the Work Week, founded by various local union leaders in 1977 and headed by United Auto Workers Local 22 President Frank Runnels.

Last April's conference was attended by 750 delegates, including some women, Blacks, and rank-and-file unionists. Workshop participants discussed different strategies for winning a shorter workweek without loss in pay.

This year's meeting, chiefly attended by union

officials, focused exclusively on lobbying activities in support of Michigan Congressman John Conyers's proposed amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. The projected activities include an October 20, 1979, rally in Washington timed to coincide with the opening of congressional hearings on the bill.

The main provisions of the Conyers bill are to reduce the workweek from forty hours to thirty-five hours over a four-year period; increase overtime pay; and prohibit employers from scheduling forced overtime.

Speakers at the conference included Runnels; Eugene Glover, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists; Cleveland Robinson, president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America; and Conyers. In the afternoon, delegates visited offices of congressional representatives to lobby for the Conyers bill.

RACIST FRAME-UP IN ST. PAUL

Leaders of the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of the NAACP joined with other community leaders at an April 1 rally demanding that charges be dropped against Lynnard Hill.

Hill was arrested at the University of Minnesota on the night of March 14-15 and charged with the seemingly minor violations of trespassing and "lurking." But he may be sent to prison for seventeen years.

He had entered a women's dormitory to make a phone call because his car stalled.

He was arrested after leaving the dormitory because he was Black.

And he was booked on tres-

passing charges because cops found out who he was, through a computer check, just as they were about to release him.

In 1975 Hill had been convicted of raping a white woman by an all-white jury. Although the victim later told the sentencing judge that she had strong doubts that Hill was her assailant, he spent three and a half years in prison. If Hill is convicted of the trespassing charge and his parole is revoked, he could have to serve the remainder of his sentence.

"I did not break the law," Hill told a crowded news conference March 20. "I was arrested because I am Black, because I am Lynnard Hill, and because I represent those who fight back."



OUT NOW!

A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War

by Fred Halstead

The first comprehensive history of the antiwar movement is now available! Fred Halstead traces the movement from its roots in the early ban-the-bomb movement, through the huge demonstrations of 1969-71, to the end of the war in 1975.

Halstead, a longtime socialist and trade unionist, was a leading figure in the antiwar movement. In addition to his own experience, Halstead draws on extensive correspondence, minutes, and documents of antiwar committees and coalitions. A thirty-two-page photo section is included.

A Monad Press book, 789 pages, \$8.95 paperback.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Good point—Defending the Senate action in ending the limit on earned income outside their \$57,000 salary, Sen. John Tower of Texas inquired: "Why is it more likely to corrupt a man for accepting \$1,000 for speaking to a bankers' convention than it is to own a quarter of a million dollars in banking stock and vote in the Senate on banking legislation?"

Probably so—Food prices will continue to soar for a while, government experts conceded. But, said the president's "inflation fighter," Alfred Kahn, if the government tried to do something about it the situation might get even worse.

Remember, don't waste energy—"CAMBRIDGE, Mass., April 4—Enough oil was spilled, burned and otherwise lost in major incidents in 1978 to heat 200,000 New England homes for a year. . . ." —The *New York Times*.

Royalty, unite—The British royal family was granted an 8.9 percent cost-of-living wage hike (The Queen goes to \$4.2 million.) The increase, one report noted, is

admittedly higher than the government's 5 percent wage guideline but below that won by unions, which struck for their demands.

Trimming the war budget—Cost-conscious army officials have ordered 20 percent soy flour added to GI hamburger. Including, perhaps, the Pentagon dining room? Don't be silly.

Like Three Days of the Condor?—It didn't mean it that way, but the *New York Times* probably got closer to the truth than it intended when it ran a headline stating, "CIA asks authority to arm more agents for 'era of terrorism.'"

Ah, just some good ol' boys—In Houston, the county attorney said the county insurance commission was apparently illegal because, for fifteen years, it's been violating conflict-of-interest laws. The commission is composed of five insurance agents who select policies for the county and collect commissions on the premiums.

Union Talk

USWA & 'illegal aliens'

The following are excerpts from a speech by Alfredo Montoya to the first international civil rights conference of the United Steelworkers of America. The conference, held in Pittsburgh March 27-29, was attended by 1,000 delegates.

Montoya, a member of the USWA, is executive director of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

Earlier in his speech, Montoya had explained that so-called illegal aliens prefer to be called undocumented workers.

First of all you have to remember that it's only been 130 years since the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican American war. Before the war and the signing of the treaty all of the vast area in the South and Southwest that is now Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Utah and parts of Colorado were Mexico.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave the option to the then citizens of Mexico who were living in the conquered territories of remaining in that territory or going to Mexico.

For those who remained, it guaranteed rights. These are treaty rights. It guaranteed the right to language, the right to their culture, the right to their religion, to their property, and so on.

Well, I don't have to tell you that since 130 years ago, a lot of that, especially their property, has been lost. In contrast to the historic movement of immigrants to this country, most of whom came from Europe and other parts of the world where they had to cross large bodies of water, these immigrants were already here. This was *their* land they were talking about.

Today, sisters and brothers, you have a long border which stretches from San Diego, California, to Brownsville, Texas. Then you have an additional body of

water that borders the Gulf of Mexico.

All of the people in the Southwest of Mexican origin—whether they're undocumented or documented, illegal or legal, citizens or not—have a lot in common with the people of Mexico.

As a matter of fact, a lot of "illegal aliens" who migrate to this country have family ties here. I come from the state of New Mexico. My family was in New Mexico long before the area became a United States territory.

And I have family in Mexico who have come across "illegal," as undocumented workers.

In Mexico, there is unemployment of 29 percent. You have a situation where men and women are going to migrate wherever they can find jobs.

I'm going to explode another myth—and that is if they could find work in their country, they would prefer to stay there, and most of them *would* stay there.

It's only been since 1924 that the U.S. government began to establish immigration quotas. Before 1924, people could go back and forth across the Mexican and U.S. border without any restrictions. Many came here. Some stayed, some went back.

The figure for undocumented workers is anywhere from 2 million up to 10 million. It is a large number of people who are considered a submerged class. These people have established roots in this country. They have been here, some of them, thirty, forty, fifty years. They have raised families who are American citizens. But they are living in a submerged status because they have no legal rights.

This distorts our whole political process because they can't vote, they can't participate, they don't benefit from the benefits you normally get if you have equal status and citizenship.

There is no way that you can get them to go back where they came from. They're here to stay.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Stop the executions!

From the earliest days socialists in the United States have fought against the barbarism of capital punishment. Eugene V. Debs was famed for his fiery denunciations of capitalist injustice and lynch law. James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, headed the International Labor Defense, which organized the campaign to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In their attempts to revive the death penalty as an accepted part of American life, the ruling class has chosen its first victims carefully, with an eye to confusing the real issues involved. That was the case with the execution of Gary Mark Gilmore in January 1977, and that is the case with John Louis Evans, who is facing death in the Alabama electric chair.

The following are excerpts from an editorial on the death of Gary Gilmore that appeared in the January 28, 1977, 'Militant.' It is equally applicable to the case of John Evans.

The cold-blooded murder of Gary Mark Gilmore by the state of Utah January 17—not the gala parties, flag-waving parades, and lavish banquets in Washington—shows what is really in store for working people as the Carter administration takes office.

America's wealthy rulers are congratulating themselves. They got away with it. They killed the first one. And now they plan to hang, shoot, gas, and electrocute hundreds more.

There are no rich people on death row. It is Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and the poor who face execution. These are the people that Gilmore's killing is meant to terrorize.

Those responsible for this barbarous and vindictive act are the real criminals. They are the real mass murderers. Their hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese, the Chilean workers, South African Blacks, and countless others.

It is no accident that they chose Gary Gilmore for the first legal execution in a decade in this country. The many bizarre aspects of his case served to obscure the real issues.

Gilmore was white. That helps mask the racist injustice of capital punishment, which has always been used mainly against Blacks and other minorities.

Gilmore admitted killing two people. That helps cover up the notorious use of police frame-ups to send innocent people to their deaths—from the Haymarket mar-

tyrs of 1886, Joe Hill, and the Rosenbergs, to people like Gary Tyler and Delbert Tibbs whose lives are in jeopardy today.

Gilmore asked to be killed rather than face life in prison. That helped divert the debate to his "right to die" rather than the real question: whether the state has a right to kill.

Gilmore himself—a product of the brutal and brutalizing prison system of capitalist America—was obviously mentally unstable. He had attempted suicide twice. He may well have killed others precisely in order to put himself in front of a firing squad.

His case actually bears witness to the fact—supported by thorough scientific studies—that capital punishment has absolutely no effect of "detering crime."

The new president, like the old one, stands foursquare for executions. As governor of Georgia, Carter signed that state's current death penalty law in 1973.

Carter and his backers promise a better life for working people and minorities under the new administration. But Carter's every act—from his cabinet appointments of warhawks and bigots to his paltry "economic stimulus" plan that won't provide more than a handful of jobs—shows that there will be no change. At least no change for the better.

The real outlook is for more attacks on wages, job safety, working conditions, and labor's right to organize and strike.

More cutbacks in social services.

More racist assaults on the rights of Blacks to desegregated schools, decent housing, and equal job opportunity.

Poverty. Unemployment. Racial oppression. Human degradation. These are the conditions that drive people to desperation and crime.

The purpose of the "law and order" outcry—with the firing squad, the noose, and the electric chair as its triumphal symbols—is not to combat crime at all. It is to enflame racist prejudices, whip up popular support for police violence against minorities and the poor, and generally blame individuals for the breakdown of the social fabric.

Capital punishment is a weapon of race and class oppression, not justice. It aims to reinforce the profit system by terrorizing the downtrodden and the outcast.

And as the capitalist economic and social crisis deepens, prompting new struggles by labor and minorities, the death penalty will stand forth ever more clearly as a weapon against working-class militants.

Stop the executions!

Abolish the death penalty!

More than we hoped for

I would like to take a few minutes of your time to thank you for the book and pamphlets that you sent me. They were more than we hoped for. They are a great help to our study.

Again, thanks.

A prisoner

Ohio

'Jailhouse lawyer'

I am a prisoner who works as a legal assistant in the law library (jailhouse lawyer). I thought I had seen just about everything conceivable done by the courts to maintain their class interests and keep all opposition bogged down or controlled in their courtrooms. But the recent U.S. Court of Appeals's most revealing "opinion" regarding *Mandamus Relief in SWP v. Attorney General*, 78-6114, is the greatest overt betrayal since Ford's pardon of Nixon of the working class's constitutional and human rights.

Many a prisoner has applied for and been denied petitions for *Mandamus* relief to order lower courts to comply with the law, when inmates' habeas corpus petitions are presented and denied as "frivolous and without merit."

I feel that the Socialist Workers Party should continue to publicize the double standards, and make comparisons with how prisoners' petitions for review are treated.

I would like to request, if at all possible, a copy of the opinion of the court for our law library. I also want to extend our support for the continuing struggle to keep the public informed. Especially now, in light of the repressive court actions to minimize our First Amendment rights, and that of the press.

A prisoner

New York

Returning home

I am returning to South Africa this summer, and I cannot renew my subscription. However, I have enjoyed your paper and hope to influence a few friends to subscribe to you.

Thank you very much.

South African reader

St. Paul, Minnesota

Women's jazz festival

The Second Women's Jazz Festival marks the establishment of an important tradition in Kansas City. Like last year and years to come, a weekend in March is devoted to women struggling against entrenched prejudice and the legacy of all "girl" orchestras.

The final concert March 25, was a showcase for Marian McPartland, Carmen MacRae, Ursula Dudziak, and Joanne Brackeen: established women jazz stars. Their marathon, five-hour concert ranged over the echoplex fusion of Ursula Dudziak with Michal Urbaniak's violin, to Marian McPartland's heritage of jazz

piano, to Joanne Brackeen's modern keyboard accompanied by the powerhouse rhythm section of Eddie Gomez and Billy Hart.

But, as conceived by founders Carol Comer, a pianist and vocalist, and Diane Gregg, former jazz programmer for the Kansas City public radio station, the festival is much more than a monument to the women who have overcome the obstacles to make it in this too-male world. It is a clearinghouse and meeting place for all the women in jazz, the women who should and will make it.

Best of all for those not in Kansas City was the taping of the entire proceedings for broadcast by National Public Radio's Jazz Alive series.

The good music and needed recognition of some exciting women jazz players will continue. Kansas City's annual Women's Jazz Festival guarantees it.

Kim Kleinman

Chicago, Illinois

Woodworker on Pulley

Just read your 30 March issue and thought I'd drop you a few lines. It gets pretty lonesome up here for leftists.

This Pulley looks like a sharp, tough dude. Is he getting any exposure from the media? I agree we need a workers party, but I don't believe there is any chance of one being formed that will amount to anything.

Things are going to have to get a lot worse before the workers wake up. When they do, I look for something on the order of Jack London's *Iron Heel* to happen rather than a workers democracy. I admit that's a pessimistic outlook but reading in labor, politics, history, economics, etc., lead me to pessimistic conclusions.

The Newport News strike warms my heart. You'd think you were back in the thirties with the CIO when you read about those fellow workers. The bosses really tremble when Black and white, male and female discover they are all in the same boat and it's leaking.

I feel disgust for all scabs but it is leavened with something between pity and compassion for southern workers. Their history and experience are so different from the industrial North. Generations of pulling the forelock are not shed in an instant of revelation at the sudden appearance of an organizer on the road to Damascus.

My union (International Woodworkers of America) passed resolutions at all three levels of the International rejecting Carter's 7 percent solution. The management here in Alpena at Abitibi has stated 7 percent is the limit. If they stick to that fantasy, I'll be sending you pictures of my picket line in May.

How about an article or two on the futility of arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes? I've almost got my committee convinced we should chuck it out in favor of strike action.

We had a case recently where the arbitrator turned out to be

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
- ☐ Please send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

How to study Africa

Where should one begin in the study of the enormously diverse continent of Africa?

What is probably most obvious about Africa today is the disparity between its material wealth and the poverty of its people.

Africa ranks as one of the richest continents in terms of natural resources. Africa leads in the world production of precious metals, of gold, diamonds, uranium, and cobalt.

Africa also has some of the best range lands in the world, which could be used for extensive cattle grazing. Even in the drought-prone areas of the Sahel, untapped underground water sources could make Africa one of the world's breadbaskets.

At the same time, in terms of per capita income and gross national product, African countries rank among the poorest in the world. The lack of basic foodstuffs has been tragically revealed by recent famines. Health care may be the most inadequate anywhere.

The obvious question, then, is why have the masses of Africa failed to benefit from this wealth? The answer can be found in Africa's history and the nature of its existing governments.

Since time immemorial Africa has been in contact with the rest of the world. From the fifteenth century onward, however, this contact, particularly that with Europe, has been to Africa's disadvantage.

The slave trade had a devastating impact on Africa. The enslavement and death of tens of millions of Africans meant that Africa was denied the labor of its most productive people.

It is no coincidence that as Africa became progressively impoverished, European and other Western ruling classes became progressively enriched. In effect, Africa's surplus was exported rather than used for its own development.

The havoc brought on Africa by the slave trade facilitated the direct European domination that was imposed during the nineteenth century. This occurred as part of the rise of imperialism. Most of the world—today's underdeveloped countries—was colonized and assigned the role of producing, through superexploited labor, cheap raw materials for Europe's industry. The colonies served in turn as markets for Europe's manufactured goods.

But with the end of World War II a weakened imperialist system faced massive anti-colonial struggles in places such as Indochina and Indonesia, as well as in Africa. Struggles such as the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya and the Algerian revolution forced imperialism to change the form of its rule by granting independence to most of its African colonies.

Independence, however, did not end the economic domina-

tion that imperialism had over Africa. Africa's wealth is still mostly owned by Western capital. Zambia and Zaïre are two of the best examples of this fact.

Even where nationalizations have occurred, as in Tanzania, or where a relatively strong native capitalist class has arisen, as in Nigeria and Kenya, the unequal trade with imperialism that historically impoverished Africa continues. This explains in part why the material well-being of Africa's masses has not improved since independence.

Imperialism is able to maintain its domination because of the cooperation of the African regimes. These regimes, along with the native capitalist class they represent, are generally weak and unstable. More than anything these regimes fear the independent mobilization of the masses. They need imperialist support against the workers and peasants, and like their colonial predecessors, they cannot tolerate democratic rule.

When such neocolonial regimes are unable to keep the masses in check, imperialism employs other means to maintain its domination, such as direct military intervention. And of course, it continues to support the white minority regimes in southern Africa, which are direct outposts of world imperialism.

More than seventy years ago, the Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky explained that in the age of imperialism, genuine national liberation and a qualitative increase in the material and cultural well-being of oppressed nations can only be won through the overturn of capitalism.

This is clear in South Africa, where the struggle against white colonial rule is totally interconnected with the struggle of the working class for its emancipation, and also in the rest of Africa, where neocolonial regimes have been unable to solve the fundamental problems facing the masses of people.

The Cuban revolution demonstrated, as the Russian revolution before it, that the socialist revolution can triumph even in countries with small working classes, as is the case in much of Africa.

Some suggested readings: Pedro Camejo's introduction to Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* and *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*, pp. 30-42 (both from Pathfinder Press).

On Africa's history, see Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Howard University Press).

For a case study of imperialism's role in Africa, see Tony Thomas and Ernest Harsch, *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* (Pathfinder).

As a basic and factual introduction to Africa, Paul Bohanon and Philip Curtin's *Africa and Africans* (Double-day) is useful.

—August Nimitz

a seventy-three-year-old lawyer from Detroit who boasted that he had never been in a factory in his life. I wonder if that had anything to do with why we lost the case.

The two-legged blood-sucking leeches on the body of the working class understand the same pressures their slimy relatives do. Salt and heat. Argument sways neither branch of the family.

Jim Woods

Alpena, Michigan

'Encouraged women'

Evelyn Reed will surely be remembered. Her book *Woman's Evolution* is most helpful for any woman needing encouragement about the contribution of our sex to history. I had never imagined so many possible ways people could live.

I have made sure all my daughters and daughters-in-law have the book and have sold several copies.

Alberta Dannells

Tucson, Arizona

'With you in struggle'

We here at the Arizona Warehouse sympathize with you and the brothers there.

We have tried to include the whites, Chicanos, Indians in our activities. We were about to achieve that goal when the administration got their favorite whites together. They paid lip service to them telling them that the Blacks were practicing racism (that is a different twist). But, anyhow, they went to arming these people.

It has just been a month ago when a member of the Arayan Brotherhood ran amok and shot four of his brothers, killing one and wounding three others. They claim that they do not know how he got the gun. And this all happened in a security block.

All that we can say is we are with you in struggle.

A prisoner
Arizona

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Correction

Two errors appeared in the *Militant* dated April 13, 1979.

On page 12, an article incorrectly reported that Coalition of Labor Union Women National President Joyce Miller addressed a demonstration in New York City calling for abortion rights and an end to forced sterilization. In fact, the speaker was Ruby Jones, president of New York CLUW.

And a page 32 article incorrectly gave United Steelworkers Organizing Department Director Elmer Chatak's name as Elmer Chaddock.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205. Tel: (205) 322-6028.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, Eastside: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Zip: 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Los Angeles, Westside: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Zip: 90018. Los Angeles, City-wide: SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Hartford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, P.O. Box M218. Zip: 46401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Veronica Cruz, Kansas Univ. 326 Lewis. Zip: 66045. Tel: (913) 864-2066.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Clason Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1299. Zip: 10025 Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, Odd Fellows

Building, Rm. 209, 19 West Hargett St. Zip: 27601 Tel: (919) 833-9440.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 608 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, The Evergreen State College Library, Rm 3208. Zip: 98505. Tel: (206) 943-3089. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

U.S. official in S. Africa peddles racist poison

'They won't get off their rear ends—it's in their blood.' That's what Ray White, the U.S. consul general in Cape Town, South Africa, thinks about Black South Africans. In a 'Militant' exclusive, staff writer August Nimtz reveals the flagrantly racist views of this top representative of the Carter administration.

By August Nimtz

A top U.S. official in South Africa who supposedly "urges" American-owned corporations to practice equality for Black workers is an unabashed racist.

"The outside world just doesn't understand—they don't know these people [Blacks]," says Ray White, American consul general in Cape Town.

What White thinks the outside world should know about Blacks is that "you just can't bring these people around to the twentieth century. They prefer to live in the past with their tribal ways."

Elaborating, White says, "Even if you sent them to Oxford or Cambridge, they'd rather go to a witch doctor for medical help."

As head of the Cape Town consulate, White is probably the most important U.S. official in South Africa except for the ambassador. He made these racist remarks during an interview with Patricia Dillon, a student in the Semester

at Sea Program, which visited South Africa last November. I was an instructor in that program.

In an exclusive for the *Militant*, Dillon has made public White's remarks during that five-hour conversation.

One of White's tasks as consul general is to promote the Sullivan Code, a set of guidelines for U.S. corporations in South Africa drawn up two years ago by Rev. Leon Sullivan. Sullivan is a Black member of the General Motors Board of Directors. The code, which has been adopted as U.S. government policy, allegedly aims to guarantee equal treatment and advancement opportunities to Black South African workers. White plays a major role in "urging" American companies to endorse the code and monitoring their compliance.

Blacks, in White's opinion, have only themselves to blame for their plight in South Africa. Africans, for example, are not promoted to supervisory posi-



White claims Black workers like these lack 'motivation.'

tions in corporations because "they're unreliable," he said.

"Their biggest problem is motivation. There's no way to keep a fire under these people.

"They won't get off their rear ends,"

he complained. "It's in their blood."

"These people," White told Dillon, "don't appreciate what the South African government is doing for them." As an example of this "ingratitude," White said that the government provides Africans with housing, "but these people are happy in warm mud-sod huts."

White felt that "Blacks can't do without whites. If whites pull out [of South Africa], things will go to hell just like in Zambia, where Blacks get drunk and crash the trains."

White—who pays his three Black servants 680 Rand (about \$850) a year in total—said that South African Blacks "haven't got it so bad. The U.S. press just paints a bad image of South Africa."

That the U.S. official who promotes the Sullivan Code is a blatant racist says a lot about Washington's concern about South African Blacks, and about its contempt for Blacks in this country, too.

U.S. policy in South Africa has nothing to do with bringing about real change for Blacks. The Sullivan Code, as South African Blacks will tell you, is simply cover for ongoing U.S. support to the apartheid regime.

American corporations rake in millions each year by superexploiting Blacks in South Africa. They aim to keep it that way. And so does Washington.

Thousands flee Fla. derailment

By Nancy Cole

The criminals who own and run the Louisville and Nashville Railroad have once again threatened the lives of thousands of people.

On April 8, an L&N train derailed near Crestview, Florida, setting off an explosion of tank cars carrying chemicals. Some 5,000 residents within an eighty-square-mile area were forced to flee their homes. Another 9,000 in Crestview itself were alerted for possible evacuation.

The derailed cars carried sulfur, anhydrous ammonia, acetone, methanol, chlorine, and carbolic acid—all deadly chemicals. The acetone exploded and the sulfur caught fire. Other tankers began leaking chlorine and anhydrous ammonia.

Thick smoke spread for miles. A fisherman walking near the wreck was hospitalized after breathing the fumes.

Residents of the area charge that the derailments were caused by excessive speeds and increasingly heavy trains.

According to the Federal Railroad Administration, the L&N—a subsidiary of Seaboard Coast Line Railroad—has "the worst record of any railroad in the country" in handling hazardous materials.

In November 1977 two people died in an L&N derailment in Pensacola, Florida.

Four months later, on February 24, 1978, sixteen were killed and forty-five injured when an L&N tank car filled with liquified propane exploded in Waverly, Tennessee.

Between Waverly—the worst accident of its kind in railroad history—and Crestview, the L&N had six more major derailments. This included one in which spilled sulfuric acid forced the evacuation of 3,550 people from Madisonville, Tennessee.

During the first half of 1978, government records

ranked the L&N third among major railroads in the number of accidents involving hazardous materials.

For 1977 and the first half of 1978, the L&N was first in deaths, injuries, and evacuations from such accidents. This is despite the fact that the railroad is mainly a carrier of coal, which is not considered a hazardous material.

Only three days before the Crestview accident, the Federal Railroad Administration placed the entire L&N system under a "slow order" for trains carrying hazardous materials. But the order was lifted the next day when FRA inspectors reported the tracks "safe."

While the L&N may be the worst offender, it is far from the only culprit. In the first nine months of 1978, almost 20,000 people were evacuated because of 783 derailments of cars carrying deadly chemicals.

The 1978 Waverly, Tennessee, disaster was followed two days later by a derailment near Youngstown, Florida, on the St. Andrews Bay Railway Company line. Eight people were killed and 114 injured in that accident.

The rail carriers like to blame these catastrophes on "human error"—that is, on the rail workers forced to work these hazardous jobs.

But the real cause, as every rail worker knows, is the push for profits. The railroads refuse to spend the money necessary to repair deteriorating tracks and equipment. They resist making safety improvements on cars carrying deadly materials.

And they're driving full speed ahead in the effort to cut train crew sizes, multiplying the chances for future, murderous train wrecks.

The railroads, it seems, are getting away with murder.



Crestview, Florida. Lives endangered and disrupted because of the railroads' push for profits.